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THE HISTORY OF THE CAUCASIAN ALBANIANS BY MOVSĒS DASXURANÇI

TRANSLATED BY

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PREFACE

AN annotated translation of the historical passages of the second and third Books of the *Patmut'iwn Aluanic'* or *History of the Caucasian Albanians* was accepted in 1954 by the University of Cambridge for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, and it is a pleasure for me to record here my sincere thanks to Professor Sir Harold Bailey, who acted as my supervisor, for his most generous help and advice. Much of my work was carried out in Paris where I was fortunate enough to be able to draw upon the erudition of Monsieur Hayk Berbérian who lent me from his large library books and articles I might otherwise have overlooked. Courses followed in Paris with Professors Frédéric Feydit of the École Nationale des Langues Orientales Vivantes and Charles Mercier of the Institut Catholique have placed me in their debt for background knowledge without which it would be vain to specialize. From 1954 onwards, while the translation was being completed with a view to publication, Professor W. B. Henning offered many useful suggestions in clarification of obscure words and passages and for these, as for his general guidance and criticism, I am deeply grateful. I thank also Dr. W. C. H. Driessen, O.P., of the Albertinum, Nijmegen, for reading through my translation with a friendly but critical eye.

I have been dependent for much of my material on specialized Armenian libraries, and I gladly acknowledge all the help and hospitality afforded me by the abbot and fathers of the Mekhitarist Congregation at Venice who gave me free access to their rich collection of manuscripts and printed books and a place to work amid the idyllic peace of the Isola San Lazzaro. I am also indebted to Dr. Nerses Akinean of the Mekhitarist Congregation at Vienna for his practical help in placing at my disposal Datean's useful lists of variant readings, and to Bishop Norayr Bogharian, librarian of the Armenian Patriarchate, Jerusalem; Monsieur A. Salmaslian of the Bibliothèque Arménienne, Paris; Mr. S. Simonian of the Catholicosate of Cilicia at Anthélias, Lebanon; and Mr. Vagharshak Tēr-Khatchaturian, librarian of the Cathedral of the Holy Saviour, New Djulfa, Isfahan, for facilitating my work on the manuscripts contained in their libraries.

The present volume might never have been written were it not

for the generous studentship awarded to me from 1949 to 1954 by the Treasury Committee for Foreign Languages and Cultures. My debt to the School of Oriental and African Studies for including the work in the London Oriental Series and for bearing the full cost of its publication is very great.

Finally, I should like to express my admiration for the skill of the printers in giving shape to a typescript bristling with diacritical points and other typographical obstacles, and my thanks to the readers of the Oxford University Press for many helpful suggestions.

C. J. F. D.

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INTRODUCTION

THERE exists as yet no critical edition of the Armenian text of the *Patmut'iwn Aluaniç*, nor is it easy to prepare in the West an edition which would have to take manuscripts now contained in the Matenadaran of the Armenian SSR in Erevan as its basis.[1] The present translation has been made largely on the edition of Šahnazarean,[2] the text of which was established on four copies, two made on manuscripts at Etchmiadzin, one on a Tabriz manuscript, and one on a Constantinople manuscript. The edition of Ēmin,[3] based upon two undated manuscripts, has also been consulted, but in view of editorial liberties taken with the text, less reliance has been placed upon it. In order to establish the most satisfactory reading of obscure words and phrases, the translator has had recourse to the following manuscripts: Nos. 217–21 of the Bibliothèque Nationale (referred to hereafter as P1–5 respectively);[4] Or. 5261 of the British Museum (BM);[5] Nos. 1485[6] and 1146[7] of the Mekhitarist monas-

[1] Such an edition is now reported to be in preparation at Erevan; see K. V. Trever, *Ocherki po istorii i kul'ture Kavkazkoi Albanii IV v. do n.e.—VII v.n.e.*, Izd. Akad. Nauk SSSR, Moscow–Leningrad, 1959, p. 13, n. 3. This latter work is a useful survey and appreciation of the sources available for the study of the history of Albania, including our author; it arrived too late to be extensively referred to in the notes to this translation.

[2] K. Šahnazarean, *Patmut'iwn Aluaniç arareal Movsisi Kałankatuaçwoy . . .*, 2 vols., Paris, 1860; denoted below as S.

[3] M. Ēmin, *Movsisi Kałankatuaçwoy Patmut'iwn Aluaniç ašxarhi . . .*, Moscow, 1860. This edition was reprinted at Tiflis in 1912. Denoted below as E.

[4] See F. Macler, *Catalogue des manuscrits arméniens et géorgiens*, Paris, 1908.

[5] See F. C. Conybeare, *A Catalogue of the Armenian Manuscripts in the British Museum . . .*, London, 1913, p. 292. In this manuscript the *History of the Aluank'* breaks off before the end of iii. 20 at fol. 244^{r}; the folios 244^{r}–245^{v} contain, like V1, pp. 533–7, part of chapters 61 and 62 of the *Hamaṙōt patmut'iwn* of Kirakos Ganjakeçi. Conybeare has dated this manuscript too early; its script closely resembles that of the example dated 1628 in Y. Dašean, *Catalog der armenischen Handschriften in der Mechitaristen-Bibliothek zu Wien*, Vienna, 1895, Tafel ii, Nr. 15.

[6] Acquired in 1835 from Madras; undated; pp. 1–283 contain the *History* of Matt'ēos Uṙhayeçi, pp. 284–322 the 'History of the priest Mesrob', pp. 323–533 the *History of Aluank'* (put together in a very confused order, with many lacunae), pp. 533–7 a fragment of Kirakos (see note 5), pp. 541–53 a passage from Samuēl Aneçi.

[7] This manuscript reproduces with certain minor exceptions the confused text of No. 1485 with variants from a Qarabagh MS. sent to the monastery in 1842 by Bishop Hasan Jalalean and later returned to him. It is worth while noting that

tery of San Lazzaro at Venice (V1 and V2), the variants from the Qarabagh MS. noted in the margin of the latter being referred to below as Q; a manuscript, formerly to be found at Aleppo and now in the library of the Catholicosate of Cilicia at Anthelias in Lebanon (Ant.);[1] and four lists of variants prepared by Xačik Datean from four Etchmiadzin manuscripts against the text of Ēmin's edition and now in the library of the Mekhitarist monastery at Vienna (D1–4). It is hoped, therefore, that no important variant has escaped the translator's notice.[2]

Although there exists at present no adequate printed catalogue of the MSS. now in the Matenadaran—Karenean's catalogue of the Etchmiadzin MSS. of 1863[3] is very much out of date—we are nevertheless fairly well informed with regard to what manuscripts of the *History of the Aluank'* the library contains. In a series of articles in the review *Ararat* between the years 1895 and 1897, Datean gave a good description and appreciation of the manuscripts of this work then to be found at Etchmiadzin.[4] He divided them into two groups, Group 1 comprising Nos. [D]1682 (A.D. 1289),

the 'better manuscript' which H. Ačaŕean (*Nor baŕer*, Venice, 1913, pt. 1, p. 8) assumed to have been at the disposal of Ališan when compiling *Hayapatum* does not exist. Pencil marks in the copy of Ēmin's edition at San Lazzaro show that Ališan used Ēmin's edition. The discrepancies noted by Ačaŕean are extremely minor and probably misprints.

[1] A. Surméyan, *Catalogue des manuscrits arméniens se trouvant à Alep à l'Église des Quarante Martyrs*, ii (Jerusalem, 1935), p. 150. It belongs, not to Datean's Group 2, as Surméyan claims, but to his Group 1.

[2] I have not consulted the manuscript described in the *Hauptkatalog der Königlichen Universitätsbibliothek zu Tübingen: Verzeichnis der armenischen Handschriften von F. N. Finck und L. Gjandschezian*, xiii (Tübingen, 1907), p. 69. It is said there to be virtually the same text as that of Ēmin's edition; I have not been able to check the differences mentioned. For i. 26 (the canons of Vaǎagan) I have quoted variant readings from MS. No. 131 (a *kanonagirk'* of A.D. 1098) of the library of the Cathedral of the Holy Saviour at New Julfa; to my knowledge this is the earliest manuscript to contain a document appearing also in the *History of the Aluank'*.

[3] Yakob Karenean, *Mayr çuçak jeŕagir mateniç gradarani Srboy At'oŕoyn Ejmiacni*, Tiflis, 1863. Nos. 1640 and 1679 contain the *History of the Aluank'*, later renumbered as 1682 and 1721 respectively (see A. Manandian, 'Die neue Numerierung der in Kareneans Katalog verzeichneten Handschriften', *Zeitschrift für armenische Philologie*, ii (Marburg, 1904), pp. 29–40). The latter are the numbers given by Datean, op. cit. below.

[4] X[aǎatur] V[ardapet Datean], 'Movsēs Kałankatuaçwoy *Aluaniç Patmut'ean* Mayr At'oŕ matenadaranum gtnuac jeŕagir ōrinakner', *Ararat*, 1895, pp. 235, 333–88, 424; 'Niwt'er usumnasirut'ean *Aluaniç Patmut'ean*', *Ararat*, 1896, pp. 22, 67, 125, 176; 1897, pp. 67, 161. A number preceded by D below, except D1–4, refers to the number of the manuscript according to these articles.

[D]632 (A.D. 1761), and [D]250 (A.D. 1829), and Group 2 Nos. [D]633 (A.D. 1664) and [D]1721 (n.d.); the variants denoted by D1–3 refer to [D]1682, [D]632, and [D]250, while D4 refers to 'a Tabriz MS'. The most modern list of the manuscripts of the *History of the Aluank'* is that given in 1935 by H. Ačaŕean in volume vii of his *Etymological Dictionary*;[1] here he mentions Nos. [A]1531 (A.D. 1289 = D1682), [A]2626 (A.D. 1761 = D632), [A]2866 (A.D. 1829 = D250), [A]2561 (A.D. 1664 = D633), [A]1725 (17th century = D1721); also [A]3043 and [A]1087, both copied at Tabriz in 1839 from a copy belonging to E. Boré and one of which must be the manuscript from which the D4 variants were taken; the eighth manuscript mentioned by Ačaŕean is No. 47 of the Lazarean Institute in Moscow, copied by Ēmin in A.D. 1849. One is to some extent able to determine the provenance of the Paris MSS. which are nineteenth-century copies prepared, with the exception of No. 220, by and for scholars. No. 217 (P1), according to a note on the title-page, was made on a copy of A.D. 1839, i.e. A3043 or A1087, both Tabriz MSS.; one may therefore expect similar readings from P1 and D4. No. 218 (P2) was copied from a St. Petersburg MS. which Patkanean (p. iv) describes as made on a copy by Šahxatuni (i.e. A2866) of a manuscript of between A.D. 1279 and 1311 (i.e. A1531) and on another copied in or after A.D. 1675 (? A1725); one may therefore expect similar readings from P2 and Patkanean. P2 was later collated with a Scutari MS. of 1838, the variants from the latter being denoted in P2 by the letter B. No. 219 (P3) was copied by Ēmin for Dulaurier; a colophon reproduced on pp. 274–5 shows that P3 was copied on a MS. made by the scribe Łunkianos in A.D. 1761, i.e. A2646 from which the D2 variants are taken. No. 220 (P4) was copied in 1857 in Šuša, from what manuscript is unknown; its readings almost invariably concord with those of BM, Q, V1, and V2. No. 221 (P5) was copied by Bannelier in 1859 from a manuscript copied in 1829, i.e. A2866 from which D3 derives.

That the unexpected occurs is due either to my false deductions from fragmentary evidence or to the fallibility of copyists. The construction of a general stemma must be left to one with access to all the material.

[1] Ačaŕean, *Hayerēn armatakan baŕaran*, vii (Erevan, 1935), pp. 157–8, s.v. *handratan*. A number prefixed by A below refers to the number of the manuscript according to this passage. See below, p. 15, n. 1.

Like A1725 and A2561, P4, BM, V1, V2, and Q are, in Datean's terms, Group 2 manuscripts, the rest belonging to Group 1. As Datean points out,[1] the editions of Ēmin and Šahnazarean are based upon Group 1 manuscripts, while the Russian translation of K. P. Patkanean,[2] as can be seen from his rendering of passages which differ in the two groups, also represents Group 1. One of the features of the present translation is that some consideration has been given to the variants of Group 2. Apart from isolated variants the latter differs from Group 1 in (*a*) containing the important passage otherwise missing from iii. 20 and which must have been in the original exemplar of the *History*;[3] (*b*) containing, in BM and P4 at least, after ii. 51, a chapter describing the history of the head of St. John Baptist which, being evidently a late interpolation, is not included in the translation below; (*c*) presenting quite different versions of matters concerning the Albanian Church at i. 9,[4] iii. 8,[5] and iii. 23.[6] With regard to (*c*), it appears that the readings of Group 2 were original, for Datean found that the oldest extant manuscript (D1682 = A1531) had been altered in these very places, probably by Łunkianos, the scribe of D632 = A2626 of A.D. 1761, which was copied from it.[7]

With the exception of V1, the folios of which have been bound together with no regard to their proper order, the sequence of the chapters of the *History* is the same in both groups. If this sequence was original, however, the compiler is seen to have been but little concerned with presenting his sources in their true chronological order. Some outstanding examples of confusion are to be found in chapters 11 and 12 of Book Two, where events concerning the role of the Khazars in the war between Heraclius and Xosrov are presented as follows:

(*a*) II. 11, pp. 81–82. The Khazars attack Albania at Heraclius' command. Xosrov persuades them to withdraw, and they decide to attack again at some future date.

[1] *Ararat*, 1895, p. 347.

[2] *Istoriya Agvan Moiseya Kagankatvatsi, pisatelya X veka. Perevod s armyanskago*, St. Petersburg, 1861.

[3] See C. J. F. Dowsett, 'A Neglected Passage in the *History of the Caucasian Albanians*', *BSOAS* xix (1957), pp. 456–68.

[4] Below, p. 8, n. 2.

[5] p. 195, n. 2, 3.

[6] p. 228, n. 1, 2.

[7] *Ararat*, 1897, pp. 68–70. I have not been able to confirm these findings.

(*b*) II. 11, pp. 83–86. 'In the 38th year of Xosrov', i.e. 628, the Khazars sack Partaw and besiege Tiflis; at the approach of the Persian army Heraclius tells the Khazars to withdraw and to return the following year, i.e. 629 (see ii. 14, p. 94, n. 1).

(*c*) II. 12, pp. 86–87. 'Then after that, in the 36th year of Xosrov', i.e. 626, Heraclius allies himself with the Khazars and gives them their instructions.

(*d*) II. 12, pp. 87–88. 'At the beginning of the 37th year' of Xosrov, i.e. 626 (but perhaps 627; see p. 87, n. 4), the Khazars raid Albania and Atrpatakan and send a messenger to Xosrov to summon him to surrender. Xosrov refuses and the messenger returns.

(*e*) II. 12, pp. 88–90. Heraclius marches upon Persia and Xosrov is killed.

It is clear that the true order of these passages is either (*c*), (*d*), (*a*) (*b*), (*e*), or (*c*), (*a*), (*d*), (*b*), (*e*).

The earliest mention of a *History of the Aluank'* occurs in connexion with the visit of Anania Mokaçi, catholicos of Armenia (943–67), to Xaçēn, probably shortly after 958, when Gagik was catholicos of Albania (948–62).[1] Gagik suggests that he be consecrated, through Anania, by St. Gregory 'as it has been from the beginning and as it is set down in the *History of the Aluank'* (*orpēs ew ēr i skzbanē leal ew kargeal i patmut'ean Aluanic*)'. When Anania expresses a wish to consult this history—for he has heard that some claimed that Albania was converted before Armenia—he is not permitted to do so; the book is hidden because, says Anania, 'it showed Albania to be an archbishopric and Armenia a catholicosate'. The history, however, falls into the Armenian catholicos' hands by accident, and he claims to find 'written therein the origins of the illumination [of the Albanians] which we liked [i.e. which pleased us], which we desired to see (*zor sirēak'*, *orum ew çangordn ēak' tesut'ean*)'. Anania then quotes the following passage from this history:[2] '266 years after the apostles Bartholomew and Thaddaeus, in the 17th year of Trdat, king of Armenia, and [in the days] of Uṙnayr, king of Albania, the Lord St. Gregory, of the family

[1] See Datean, *Ararat*, 1896, pp. 22–25; N. Akinean, 'Movsēs Dasxurançi (koçuac Kałankatuaçi) ew ir Patmut'iwn Aluaniç', *Handēs Amsorea*, Vienna, 1953, pp. 13–15.

[2] Datean, op. cit., p. 25.

of Surean Pahlaw Aršakuni, Illuminator of Armenia, was dedicated to the throne of these same apostles, while Trdat and Urnayr, the kings of Armenia and Albania, were still in idolatry'. This is not in the *History of the Aluank'* as we know it. Step'annos Ōrbēlean,[1] relating the same events, says that in the *History of the Aluank'* consulted by Anania 'it was written with great accuracy that the first bishop in Albania was consecrated by St. Gregory, Illuminator of Armenia, at the request of Urnayr, king of Albania; that they remained submissive to the incumbents of the Armenian see for 440 years, and that the catholicoi of Albania accepted consecration at the hands of the Armenians, for those [the primates] of the Armenians were patriarchs, and those of the Albanians, archbishops; and this [continued thus] under 25 catholicoi of Armenia down to Lord Abraham'. This passage could be a digest, with added annotations, of MD i. 9 and ii. 48, but this is doubtful. Anania could not have read at ii. 47[2] that 'the see of Albania was established before that of Armenia and agrees with us [the Armenians]'.

The next mention of a *History of the Albanians* occurs in Uxtanēs's *History of the Schism between the Armenians and Georgians*,[3] composed towards the end of the tenth century. Here there is real textual agreement. Uxtanēs's ch. lxiv, said by him to be from 'another history (*yaylmē patmut'enē*)', agrees word for word with part of MD ii. 47,[4] although the fact that this chapter in MD gives only a summary of Abraham's letter which is quoted more fully in Uxtanēs lxx[5] seems to indicate a common source rather than inter-borrowing. Some details are said by Uxtanēs lxv[6] to be taken from the *History of the Aluank'* (*i patmut'enē iwreanc* [sc. *Aluanic*]) or 'the historians of the Albanians (*patmagrac'n Aluanic*)';[7]

[1] Step'annos Ōrbēlean, *Patmut'iwn nahangin Sisakan*, lii, ed. Tiflis, 1910, p. 279; tr. M. Brosset, *Histoire de la Siounie*, i (St. Petersburg, 1864), p. 161.

[2] Below, p. 174.

[3] Uxtanēs, *Patmut'iwn bažanman Vrac i Hayoc*, ii (Vałaršapat, 1871), p. 122.

[4] Ibid., p. 121.

[5] See below, p. 174, n. 1.

[6] p. 122; see below, p. 177, n. 1.

[7] This phrase is interesting; before supposing the existence of two or more compilers of the *History of the Aluank'*, however, one should bear in mind that Elišē, Movsēs Xorenaci, and the authors of hagiographical works like that mentioned below were all in a sense 'historians of the Albanians', as testified by the fact that our compiler draws frequently upon them. I think one must resist the temptation to see in *patmagrac'n* 'historians' (gen. pl.) a miswriting of *patmagroyn* 'historian' (gen. sg.), i.e. ՊԱՏՄԱԳՐՈՑՆ for ՊԱՏՄԱԳՐՈՅՆ.

it is more probable that these details are taken from MD i. 6 than ii. 48, and since the former chapter has its source in a hagiographical work, it is again possible that Uxtanēs and MD had common sources.

The mention of a *History of the Aluank'* by the thirteenth-century writer Step'annos Ōrbēlean in his chapters xxv and xxvi must refer to the compilation of Movsēs, for the former chapter specifically mentions 'the middle (i.e. second) part'.[1] The first historian to indicate an approximate date for the *History* is Mxit'ar Aneci,[2] who places it between Sebēos (7th century) and Łewond (8th century), but since Šapuh Bagratuni (9th century) is placed before Sebēos, the *History* is most likely also not in its proper chronological position in the list.

In the works of the authors hitherto mentioned no name is attached to the *History*. Early in the thirteenth century, however, Mxit'ar Goš[3] names a Movsēs Dasxurancı as the author, while his pupil Vanakan Vardapet similarly names him 'Movsēs, from the village of Dasxurēn'.[4] Later in the thirteenth century Mxit'ar Ayrivaneci places 'Movsēs Aluanic', together with the tenth-century authors Grigor Narekaci and Uxtanēs, between the years 981 and 1001.[5] Kirakos Ganjakeci[6] in the same century, placing him between the tenth-century authors John Catholicos and

[1] St. Orb. xxv, ed. Tiflis, pp. 99–100: *y Aluanic Patmut'eann i mijin hatorn*; see below, p. 175, n. 1.

[2] *Mxit'aray Anecwoy patmut'iwn*, ed. K'. P. Patkanean, St. Petersburg, 1879, p. 15.

[3] See Ł. Ališan, *Hayapatum; patmic'k' . . . Hayoc*, Venice, 1901, p. 175; C. J. F. Dowsett, 'The Albanian Chronicle of Mxit'ar Goš', *BSOAS* xxi (1958), p. 476.

[4] See Ališan, ibid., where no references are given; I have been as yet unable to trace this passage in Vanakan's "short historical notes"; to the question 'Who is the historian of the Aluank'?' the answer given is 'Movsēs, and his village is Dasxurēn (*Movsēs ew geljn Dasxurēn*)'.

[5] *Mxit'aray Ayrivanecwoy Patmut'iwn Hayoc*, ed. Ēmin, Moscow, 1860, pp. 23, 57.

[6] *Kirakosi Vardapeti Ganjakecwoy Hamarōt Patmut'iwn*, ed. Venice, 1865, pp. 3–4. It is strange that Kirakos, the pupil of Vanakan who was himself the pupil of Mxit'ar Goš, does not mention the name Dasxurancı; ibid., p. 98, he gives no name at all, merely referring to 'him who wrote the *History of the Aluank'* '. Akinean, *Handēs Amsorea*, 1953, p. 17, points out that it is clear from Kirakos's list of the patriarchs of Albania which follows that of MD and does not contain later ones listed by Mxit'ar Goš (see Dowsett, *BSOAS* xxi (1958), pp. 479–80) that Kirakos did not know of Mxit'ar Goš's chronicle; manuscripts of this have come down to us from the thirteenth century (see J. Mécérian, 'Bulletin arménologique (premier cahier)', *Mélanges de l'Université Saint Joseph*, Beyrouth, xxvii. 10 (1947–8), pp. 214, 216).

Uxtanēs, is the first writer to call the author by his traditional name, or rather by a close form of it: 'Movsēs Kałkanduaci, historian of the Ałuank' '. It is to be noted that the earliest extant manuscript of the *History*, also of the thirteenth century (1289), bears no author's name; nor do the manuscripts of Group 2. The earliest manuscript to bear the name *Movsēs Kałankatuaci* is that copied by Łunkianos in 1761.

The passage apparently responsible for the attribution to the compiler of the surname *Kałankatuaci* or *Kałankaytuaci* is that at ii. 11, p. 84 which reads: 'When the enemy became aware of what had happened, they pursued them and overtook a group of them at the foot of the mountain opposite the large village of Kałankatuk', which is in the same province of Uti where I too am from.' H. Manandean pointed out[1] that it would be more usual to interpret this as signifying that the writer was from the province of Uti, but not at all necessarily from Kałankatuk', and this scholar subsequently referred to a 'Moses of Uti (*Moisei Utiiskii*)'. This interpretation is sound, especially in view of the wording 'in the *same* province of Uti where I too am from (*i nmin yUti gawaṙi yormē ew es*)'. The person speaking here, however, may be none other than the original writer of this particular passage which was later, in the tenth century, incorporated into the *History of the Ałuank'*, and so, therefore, no more the compiler of the whole than Adrianē or Viroy, both of whom have signed themselves in the course of the *History*.[2] It is N. Akinean's opinion that the name *Kałankatuaci* is due to a faulty misinterpretation of the above-mentioned passage by Kirakos which misled the scribe Łunkianos[3] and subsequent writers. It is not even certain that the compiler's first name was Movsēs. Akinean wonders whether there was an oral tradition to this effect, but inclines more to the view that 'in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, when the readers of the history were interested to know who its unknown author was, they would naturally [?] have assumed that the historian of the Albanians was one of the catholicoi of the Albanians, and if so, that he must have been the last catholicos Movsēs [mentioned in iii. 23].'[4]

[1] H. [Yakob] Manandean, *Beiträge zur albanischen Geschichte*, Leipzig, 1897, p. 22.

[2] Below, pp. 72 and 103 respectively.

[3] *Handēs Amsorea*, 1953, p. 28. In his alteration of iii. 23 (see p. xiv, n. 7 and p. 228, nn. 1, 2) Łunkianos must also have been influenced by Kirakos.

[4] Loc. cit., p. 30.

It is possible that the name *Kałankatuaci* is based upon something more solid than a misinterpretation on the part of Kirakos and others. The village of Kałankaytuk' is mentioned five times in the *History*, which may suggest a special interest in it and knowledge of it on the part of the compiler; on the other hand, this village, being the seat of a noble and in Arab times a station on the main road from Partaw to Dwin, clearly had some intrinsic importance.[1] Since it was also the site of a monastery, it is possible, as Professor Henning suggests, that Movsēs, by birth from Dasxuran (nowhere mentioned in the *History*), was a member of this monastery and thus entitled to both *Dasxurançi* and *Kałankatuaci* as surnames.[2] Of the two, however, *Dasxurançi* seems the surer.

Manandean[3] could see no reason to suppose that Books One and Two are to be attributed to the seventh century and Book Three to the tenth.[4] It has been held that Book Three is an inferior work, but it is hardly inferior to Book One. Šahnazarean's interpretation of passages at i. 8, ii. 14, 28, 33 in the first person as referring to the compiler himself[5] have been reduced *ad absurdum* by Manandean[6] and Ačaṙean.[7] As far as the quality of Book Three is concerned, Manandean pointed out that the quality of a compiler's work depends upon the quality of his sources more than upon his own skill. There are, moreover, clear links between all three Books: at iii. 10[8] there is a reference to i. 10, 26; at ii. 17[9] to i. 27; at iii. 22[10] to i. 15.

[1] See below, p. 80, n. 2.

[2] See *BSOAS* xxi (1958), p. 476, n. 1.

[3] Loc. cit., p. 16.

[4] As by Šahnazarean, op. cit., i, p. 85, followed, for example, by G. Zarbhanalean, *Haykakan hin dprut'ean patmut'iwn*, 4th ed., Venice, 1932, pp. 442 ff., and H. Hübschmann, *Armenische Grammatik*, Leipzig, 1895, p. 6; also by T. Tēr-Grigorean, 'K voprosu ob "Istorii Alvanskoi strany" Moiseya Kalankatuiskogo' (an unpublished article conserved in the *Nauchnyi arkhiv Instituta istorii Akademii Nauk Azerb. SSR*, No. 991, 1939), quoted by K. V. Trever, op. cit., pp. 14–16; Tēr-Grigorean thinks that Moses was 62–67 years old in 670. I have not been able to consult Z. I. Yampol'skii's article 'K izucheniyu letopisi Kavkazkoi Albanii', *Izvestiya Ak. Nauk Azerb. SSR*, 1957, No. 9, pp. 149 ff., quoted by Trever, p. 16, n. 2.

[5] Loc. cit., p. 83. A like interpretation of the passage in ii. 19 referring to 'my lord Juanšēr' (below, p. 115) is made by Tēr-Grigorean, op. cit., quoted by Trever, p. 15. Trever herself thinks it unlikely that this phrase has been merely copied by a tenth-century compiler (ibid.).

[6] Loc. cit., p. 16.

[7] Ačaṙean, 'Movsēs Kałankaytuaci: k'nnut'iwn anor grut'ean žamanakin veray', *Bazmavēp*, Venice, 1897, pp. 370–4.

[8] p. 197, n. 3.

[9] p. 108, n. 3.

[10] p. 225, n. 1.

What date is to be ascribed to the compilation known as the *History of the Aluank'*? The last date specifically mentioned in Book Two is that of Israyēl's mission to the Honk' (681–2),[1] but the reference at ii. 48[2] to the visit of the Armenian catholicos Ełia to Partaw (704), described in iii. 7–9,[3] adversely affects the old argument that the compiler of the second book was of the seventh century. The last dates implied in Book Three are those of Senek'erim, Albanian king of Siwnik' *c.* 1080–1105,[4] but there is such a chronological gap between these and the next latest dates implied, namely, that of the Russian raid on Partaw in 944[5] and that of the accession of Movsēs IV (991),[6] that Brosset[7] was tempted to consider the mention of Senek'erim a later interpolation. The fact remains, however, that the last person to have a hand in the *History of the Aluank'* wrote at the earliest at the end of the eleventh or the beginning of the twelfth century. This person may have been Dasxurançi; if so, Mxit'ar Ayrivaneçi and Kirakos were mistaken in placing the compiler in the tenth century. In my own view too many words have been wasted in seeking the name and epoch of a compiler who was certainly no Bacon and no Shakespeare. One can perhaps be content to allow the sources gathered together by a person or persons unknown to speak for themselves.

[1] ii. 39, p. 154, n. 1. [2] p. 178, n. 2. [3] pp. 192–7.
[4] iii. 22, p. 227, n. 2. [5] iii. 21, p. 224, n. 4. [6] iii. 23, p. 231.
[7] *Histoire de la Siounie*, i, p. 182, n. 1.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

(For details of MSS., editions, translation, etc., *see* Introduction)

AC	Anonymous chronicle (*Ananun žamanakagrut'iwn*)
Ant.	Anthelias MS.
BM	British Museum MS.
BSOAS	*Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London*
BZ	*Byzantinische Zeitschrift*
D	List of variant readings prepared by X. Datean
E	Ēmin's edition of the *Patmut'iwn Aluaniç*
El.	Elisē Vardapet, *Patmut'iwn Vardananç* . . .
E. Tk.	Eastern Turkish, Turkī
FB	P'awstos Buzandaçi, *Patmut'iwn Hayoç*
HA	*Handēs Amsōrea*, Vienna (periodical)
HAG	H. Hübschmann, *Armenische Grammatik*, Leipzig, 1895
Hipp.	*Hippolytus Werke*, 4er Band, Berlin, 1955
LP	Łazar P'arpeçi, *Patmut'iwn Hayoç*, Venice, 1933
MD	Movsēs Dasxurançi, otherwise Kałankaytuaçi, *Patmut'iwn Aluaniç*
MX	Movsēs Xorenaçi, *Patmut'iwn Hayoç*
NA	*Noyean Aławni*, Constantinople (periodical)
NBHL	*Nor Baṙgirk' Haykazean Lezui*, Venice, 1836–7
NP	New Persian
O. Ir.	Old Iranian
P	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS.
Patk.	K'. Patkanean, *Istoriya Agvan* . . . (Russian translation of the *Patmut'iwn Aluaniç*)
Phl.	Pahlavi
Q	Qarabagh MS.
S	Šahnazarean's edition of the *Patmut'iwn Aluaniç*
St. Orb.	Step'annos Ōrbēlean, *Patmut'iwn nahangin Sisakan*, Tiflis, 1910
TA	T'ovma Arcruni, *Patmut'iwn tann Arcruneaç*, St. Petersburg, 1887
V	Venice (San Lazzaro) MS.

BOOK I

Chapter 1. *Foreword to the History of the Albanians*

THE first man created by God, our father Adam, lived 230 years and begat Seth. Seth lived 205 years and begat Enos. Enos lived 190 years and begat Cainan. Cainan lived 170 years and begat Mahalaleel. Mahalaleel lived 165 years and begat Jared. Jared lived 162 years and begat Methuselah. Methuselah lived 167 years and begat Lamech. Lamech lived 168 years and begat Noah. Noah lived 500 years and begat three sons—Shem, Ham, and Japheth. And a hundred years after the birth of Shem came the Flood, in the six hundredth year of Noah, and from Adam to the Flood there were 2,242 years and ten generations.[1]

Chapter 2. *The genealogy of Japheth and his descendants*

HERE you will find information concerning the confines [of the family] of Japheth and the ethnology of the same, all in its proper place. The confines of Japheth are those which Noah, insisting that the brothers should take an oath swearing that they would not rob each other, allotted to him as his share, [namely the land] from Media to Gadiron (Cadiz) in the north and down to the river Tigris which separates Media and Babylon.[2] And the sons of Japheth were Gomer, from whom the Gamirk' (Cimmerians)[3] were descended; Magog, ancestor of the Celts and Galatians; Madai, ancestor of the Medes; Javan, ancestor of the Greeks; Tubal, ancestor

[1] The source of most of Chapters 1–3 is the Chronicle of Hippolytus, an Armenian translation of which, made *c.* A.D. 685, is contained in MS. No. 102 of Etchmiatsin dated A.D. 981/2; a copy of this manuscript was made in 1836 and printed by B. Sargisean as *Ananun žamanakagrut'iwn* [*Anonymous Chronicle*], Venice, 1904 (referred to below as AC). For a translation of MD i. 1 and AC, see J. Markwart in *Hippolytus Werke, vierter Band — Die Chronik hergestellt von A. Bauer, durchgesehen von R. Helm . . . nebst einem Beitrag von J. Markwart*, Leipzig, 1929, pp. 454–66, where MD i. 2, 3 are also compared with AC and Hippolytus's text. For a comparison between the date of MD i. 1 and that of other versions of Hippolytus see the re-edition of *Hippolytus Werke, vierter Band*, Berlin, 1955, pp. 142–3; forms from Hippolytus quoted below are taken from this edition.

[2] Hipp., p. 10 (49. 50).

[3] Hipp. *Καππάδοκες*.

of the T'etałk';[1] Meshech, ancestor of the Lurikaçik';[2] Tiras, ancestor of the Thracians; Chittim, ancestor of the Macedonians.

And the sons of Tiras were Ashkenaz, ancestor of the Sarmatians; Riphath, ancestor of the Sauromatians;[3] Togarmah, ancestor of the Armenians.

And the sons of Javan were Elishah, ancestor of the Sicilians and Athenians; Tarshish, ancestor of the Georgians and Turanians; Kitris,[4] ancestor of the Romans, Latins, and Rhodians.

In all, fifteen generations.

From these there arose and broke away the isles of the heathens who are the Cypriots, descended from the Kituraçik',[5] sons of Japheth, and those who are in the north are related to the Kituraçik',[5] from whom the Albanians (Ałuank') are descended.[6] And the race which is in the land of Hellas descends from those who subsequently migrated thither, like the Ayetaçik',[7] who dwell in Athens, coming from the honoured Greeks (Yoynk'). And from the Thebans the Sidonians, who are descended from Cadmos, son of Agenor, emigrated. And the Carthaginians are immigrants from Tyre.

At the time of the confusion of tongues there arose from [the family of] Japheth fifteen races, from Media to Hesperia which extends to Oceanus and faces the north. This is their territory:[8] Atrpatakan,[9] Albania, Amazonia, Armenia Major and Minor, Cappadocia, Galatia, Colchis, India, Bosphoria, Maeotis, Deŧis,[10] Sarmatia, Tōrinis,[11] Scythia, Thrace, Macedonia, Dalmatia, Malx,[12] Thessaly, Locris, Boeotia, Hetałia,[13] Attica, Achaea, Teŧenim,[14] Akarnēs,[15] Hupiristim,[16] Łiuria,[17] Lik'nitis,[18] Adriakē (whence the Adriatic Sea), Gaul, Spanogalia, Iberia, Hispania Major. Here end the confines of [the family of] Japheth up to the British Isles, and all look towards the north.

[1] *Θετταλοί.* [2] *Ἴλυριοί.*
[3] H$_1$ *Ῥόδιοι*; H$_2$ *Σαυρομάται.*
[4] *Κίτιοι*; AC Kitiaçik'. [5] *Κίτιοι.*
[6] The Albanians are not mentioned here in Hipp.
[7] *Σαΐτες*; AC Sayetaçik'.
[8] Hipp., p. 15 (84). [9] *Μηδία.* [10] *Δέρρης.* [11] *Ταυριανή.*
[12] E, S Malx; H$_1$ *Μολχίς*; BM Molŧis; H$_2$ *Μολλίς.*
[13] *Αἰτωλία.*
[14] S *sic*; E Teŧinim; BM Speŧenis; AC Peŧenis 'which is called Poliponesios'; H$_2$ *Πελληνίς, ἣ καλεῖται Πελοπόννησος*; H$_1$ *Πελοπόννησος.* [15] *Ἀκαρνία.*
[16] S, E *sic*; BM Hiwteria; AC Hēpirotis; Hipp. *Ἠπειρώτης.*
[17] S, E *sic*; BM Aŧiwrea; AC Iŧiwris; Hipp. *Ἰλλυρίς.*
[18] *Λυχνῖτις.*

Chapter 3. *The nations which are acquainted with [the art of] writing*

Of these, those that know how to write[1] are the Hebrews,[2] the Latins, by whom the Romans also are governed, the Spaniards, the Greeks, the Medes, the Armenians, the Albanians.[3] From Media northwards to the borders of Gadiron (Cadiz), extending from the river Pargamitos[4] to Mastosis,[5] which is Ilion; and the islands[6] of Sicily, Euboia, Rhodes, Chios, Zakinthos, Cephalonia, Ithaca, Kerkira (Corfu), Kisadēs,[7] and the part of Asia called Ionia; and the river Tigris which flows between Media and Babylon. These are the confines of [the family of] Japheth. Shem received the east of the world, Ham the south, and Japheth the west and north where the Albanians and the Caspian Sea and the mountain peaks of the world in the east are situated; and in the west these peoples extend to Trapon (Trapezus).[8]

From Japheth to Tigran there were forty-four kings, and in 450 years there were fourteen kings of Persia, from Aršak to Artawan. Artašir of the Sassanian family of Stahr killed Artawan and destroyed the kingdom of the Parthians who had ruled the Persians and Assyrians for 252 years before the coming of our Saviour Christ, and 270 years after the return of the Jews from the Captivity in Babylon. From these same Parthians, there were, in the course of 620 years, twenty-four kings of Armenia, from Vałaršak to Artašir, son of Vŕamšapuh. Then the kingdom was taken away from the Arsacids, and the patriarchate from the family of St. Gregory; and if you wish to know about the Bagratunis, Paroyr Skayordi called Hraç'eay, king of Armenia, son of Haykak, asked the king of Babylon for a certain Jewish captive named Šbat', whom he took and settled in Armenia with great honour.[9] From him originated the Bagratuni family as the great family of Japheth declined.

Chapter 4. *Vałaršak appoints a ruler over the Albanians*[10]

Here begins the [history of the] government of the Albanians. We

[1] Hipp., p. 15 (81). [2] *Ἰβήρες*; AC Iberaraçik'.
[3] The Albanians are not mentioned by Hipp. here.
[4] E, S Pargamidos; BM Partamitos; AC Pawtamidon; Hipp. (83) *Ποταμίδος.*
[5] *Μασπουσία*; AC Matusia. [6] Hipp., p. 16 (87). [7] *Κυκλάδες.*
[8] Hipp., p. 39 (234) *Τραπεζοῦς* (referring to 'the unknown people').
[9] Cf. MX i. 22, ed. Tiflis, 1913, pp. 68–69. [10] From MX ii. 6, 8.

cannot say anything definite for the benefit of our readers about the people who inhabited the great Mount Caucasus from the creation of the world down to Vałaršak, king of Armenia. On the establishment of his rule over the northerners, he summoned to him the wild, foreign tribes in the northern plain and round the foot of the Caucasus and in the valleys and ravines south thereof down to the entrance to the plain, and commanded them to cease their plundering and murdering and to pay tribute to the king. He appointed over them governors and prefects of whom the chief, by order of Vałaršak, was a certain Aṙan of the Sisakan family, descended from Japheth, who received the plains and mountains of Albania from the river Araxes to the fortress of Hnarakert. And they called the country Ałuank' on account of the sweetness of his ways, for they called him *ału* ['sweet'] on account of his agreeable disposition. And from among his descendants, they say, famous and valiant men, many governors were appointed by Vałaršak the Parthian; and from his son, they say, descended the inhabitants of the principalities of Uti, Gardman, ⟨Covdk', and Gargark'⟩[1].

Up to here we have shown the [various] genealogies.

Chapter 5. *The fertility and abundance of the regions of Albania, and what it contains for the needs of Man*

SITUATED among the towering mountains of the Caucasus, the land of Albania is fair and alluring, with many natural advantages. The great river Kur flows gently through it bearing fish great and small, and it throws itself into the Caspian Sea. In the plains round about there is to be found much bread and wine, naphtha and salt, silk and cotton, and innumerable olive-trees. Gold, silver, copper, and ochre are found in the mountains. As for wild animals, there are the lion, the leopard, the panther, and the wild ass, and among the many birds, the eagle, the hawk, &c. And it has the great Partaw as its capital.

Chapter 6. *Knowledge of the appearance of God comes to us easterners*[2]

WE have not found the true history of the time elapsed between the

[1] So BM; S, E om.

[2] Chapters 6 and 7 are taken from a life of St. Eliseus; see 'Le Synaxaire arménien de Ter Israel, publié et traduit par . . . G. Bayan, II (Mois de Hori)', *Patrologia Orientalis*, tome vi (1911), pp. 302–4 (20 Hori–29 September); M. Awgerean, *Liakatar vark' . . . srboç*, xii (Venice, 1813–15), p. 145. Chapter 6 is quoted by Uxtanēs, *Patmut'iwn bažanman Vraç i Hayoç* [*Schism between the Georgians and Armenians*], Vałaršapat, 1871, ch. lxv, p. 122.

appointment of Aṙan by Vałaršak over this house of Albania and Vačagan the Brave, who also ruled over the lands of Albania. But in the days of the appearance of the Sun of Justice and the advent of our salvation, the Inscrutable Being, the Light of Glory, the Emanation of His Father's Being, who, having completed His ministry to all men, dwelt again in the glory of His being from which He was never separated, He sent his holy and beloved disciples as preachers throughout the world, and the holy apostle Thaddaeus was appointed for us easterners. He came to the Armenian canton of Artaz and there suffered martyrdom at the hands of Sanatruk,[1] king of Armenia, and his disciple St. Eliseus returned to Jerusalem and related the enviable martyrdom of his fellow apostle. Thereupon he was ordained in the Holy Spirit by St. James, the brother of Our Lord, who was the first patriarch of Jerusalem. He received the east as his diocese, travelled from Jerusalem via Persia, and escaping from the Armenians, penetrated among the Mask'ut'k'.[2] He commenced his preaching in Č̣ołay,[3] and attracting many disciples in many different places, announced the Salvation. From there he arrived at the town of Srhaṙn[4] in the province of Uti with three disciples, some of whose wicked brothers had pursued them. One of the disciples was martyred by them and the other two deserted the blessed Eliseus and followed the murderers, but the holy patriarch came to Gis,[5] he founded a church

[1] Cf. MX ii, 35; FB iii. 6, 7; Markwart, 'Untersuchungen zur Geschichte von Iran', *Philologus*, lv (1896), pp. 218 ff.

[2] See Markwart, 'Entstehung der armenischen Bistümer', *Orientalia Christiana*, xxvii. 2 (1932), p. 214; id., *Ērānšahr nach der Geographie des Ps. Moses Xorenac'i*, Berlin, 1901, pp. 165–9; id., 'Kulturanalekten', *Ungarische Jahrbücher*, ix/1 (1929), p. 78; V. Minorsky, *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam*, Gibb Memorial, New Series, XI, London, 1937, pp. 455–6.

[3] See below, ii. 39, p.155 : 'Čołay, which is near Darband'; Uxtanēs, loc. cit.: 'Čoray, which is Darband'. Ar. *Ṣūl*, Gk. *Τζούρ*; see Markwart, *Streifzüge*, p. 489. The confusion between the forms *Č̣ołay and Čoray* is common even within individual manuscripts of MD.

[4] E; S *Saharn*; see below, p. 40, n. 2. Although identifications based on approximate homophony are to be treated with caution, it is perhaps worth noting that Z. I. Yampol'skii, 'K izucheniyu letopisi Kavkazskoi Albanii', *Izv. Ak. Nauk Azerb. SSR*, 1959, no. 9, p. 156, identifies this town with 'the small township of Syrkharn-kala near present Aghdash'.

[5] Yampol'skii, ibid.: 'Gis (present Kish) is found north of present-day Nukha.

there and offered up bloodless sacrifices. This place was the original source of all the churches and cities and the conversion of us easterners. From there he crossed the plain of Zargun to the site of the sacrificial altars of the heathen idolaters and there he received the martyr's crown. It is not clear who did the deed. The murderers threw the holy remains into a ditch in the place called Homēnk', where they lay hidden for a long time.

Chapter 7. *The discovery of the relics of St. Eliseus, Illuminator of the East*

IT is not fitting for truth to be hidden and light covered up. When a long time had passed, he appeared to a certain pious man in a vision, and they went in a body to the site of the ditch and saw a great heap of bones, and all were uncertain [as to which were those of St. Eliseus]. They removed them and piled them up, however, and kept watch over them that night in prayer. In the morning there was a great earthquake, and those who stood there fell to the ground. A violent wind blew from the desert and scattered over the fields the bones of those who were not saints, so that only the bones of the apostles remained. From these a certain Step'annos, the pious priest of the village of Uṙekan, took the skull and then hurried away on his horse. The crowds followed him, for a dark cloud had descended and frightened them, and they returned to their homes. And St. Eliseus appeared to them in a vision, and they fetched and buried his remains where his skull had been laid by the holy priest Step'annos, namely in the village of Uṙekan. From there they were transferred to the holy monastery of Nersmihr which is now called J̌rvštik, to the glory of our Almighty Lord. After many years had passed, the pious Vaṭagan, king of Albania, erected a column in the ditch of the martyr and it was consecrated, the king's chamberlain becoming a stylite upon the column.

Chapter 8. *We have found no accounts in chronological order concerning the events from Aṙan to Uṙnayr, king of Albania, but what needs to be known is written here in brief*

IT would be most desirable to have chronological accounts of the

The presence there of an ancient ("round") church investigated by us in 1947 and all the information about Gis leave no room to doubt that Gis . . . is to be identified with Kish.'

events from the reign of Aṙan down to the present time, but the diversity of the nations of the east and the destruction of books and testaments by fire explain why [this is not possible]. Here, however, Movsēs, the Father of Literature (*K'ert'ołahayr*), comes to our aid in that which concerns Artawazd's war against the Romans.[1] For whilst he assembled his legions of Atrpatakan, he summoned the powerful mountain peoples of the Caucasus and the armies of Albania and Georgia and descended into Mesopotamia where, thanks to their strength, he defeated the Roman army. And while Artašēs was fighting Eruand, the latter was within the borders of Albania in the province of Uti, and leaving his army there, he returned to his city. Artašēs came and assembled the Albanians under him, marched to the Lake of Gełam [Sewan], drove out Eruand with their aid and became himself ruler of Armenia.[2] Then Albania and part of Georgia joined forces with all the mountain peoples and invaded the land of Armenia in great force.[3] Artašēs drew up his army against them and camped on the river Kur. The battle raged, and the son of the Albanian king fell into the hands of Artašēs. Artašēs married accordingly the maiden Sat'inik and returned [to Armenia] upon making peace. Sat'inik's father died and a usurper reigned in his stead and persecuted her brother. Smbat, Artašēs' tutor, drove out the usurper, restored Sat'inik's brother to his father's throne, and returned with much booty and many prisoners to Armenia, where he settled the prisoners, who were from the canton of Artaz in the province of Šawaršan.[4] And the *naxarars* of the east were drawn from the family of Sat'inik which was allied by marriage, through Xosrov the Great, father of Trdat, to a brave man who came from the Basiłk'.[5]

Chapter 9. *Uṙnayr is converted and baptized by St. Gregory, and all Albania is converted by King Uṙnayr*[6]

AFTER the blessed St. Eliseus had commenced his apostolic mission from the far corners of the earth, he converted some among

[1] MX ii. 22.
[2] MX ii. 46, 47.
[3] MX ii. 50, which concerns Alans, not Albanians.
[4] MX ii. 52.
[5] MX ii. 58. On the Basiłk' (Barselk', *Βαρσήλτ*), see Markwart, 'Untersuchungen zur Geschichte von Iran', Heft i, p. 48, n. 16, and Tomašek in Pauly–Wissowa, *Realencyclopädie*.
[6] This chapter has little historical foundation. The story of Uṙnayr's conversion by St. Gregory MD is found in the so-called letter of Giwt (below, i. 11), but it

the eastern peoples of the north, but not all. He fought a good fight and strove hard for the good of his people. In the days when God visited mankind and caused the west to prosper under the great emperor Constantine and converted Greater Armenia through the blessed Trdat, he also led to the Faith the lands of the Orient which had been taught a little of the rising of the true Sun of Salvation, and they were again converted through the most excellent Uṙnayr. These divine wonders came to pass at the same time. Uṙnayr, king of Albania, was the husband of the sister of Šapuh, king of Persia,[1] a powerful man who had acquired splendid renown in many battles, raising the standard of victory among the Armenians. He was reborn through St. Gregory the Illuminator and clothed in the Holy Spirit, and he converted the Albanians. He lived as a son of the eternal light and then quit this human life. After his death the Albanians asked for the young Grigoris to be their catholicos, for our king Uṙnayr had asked St. Gregory to consecrate him bishop of his country—not by necessity or because the Armenians are senior to the Albanians; they decided to submit voluntarily, summoned the worthy heir of St. Gregory, and were well pleased.[2]

seems clear that Uṙnayr was king of Albania after the death of Grigoris at the hands of Sanatruk, said at FB iii. 7 to have been avenged by Xosrov the Little (*c.* 331–9) and Vaṭē Mamikonean. Uṙnayr was defeated *c.* 370 by Mušeł Mamikonean in the war between Pap (*c.* 369–74) and Šapuh II (309–79) during the catholicosate of Nersēs the Great (MX iii. 37; FB v. 4; MD i. 13). 'Wherefore', says Akinean (*HA*, 1953, 4–6, p. 166), 'it is necessary to assume not one but two Uṙnayrs; but the compiler has not noticed the discrepancy, thereby manifesting his ignorance of history.' The evidence is too weak to support the assumption of two Uṙnayrs.

[1] Uṙnayr is nowhere else mentioned as Šapuh's brother-in-law. Brosset, *Additions*, p. 471, n. 1, names his wife 'the sister of King Šapuh of Persia called Asay', but without justification (Ačaṙean includes the name in his *Hayoç anjnanunneri baṙaran* [*Dictionary of Personal Names*], i, p. 220, while F. Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, Marburg, 1895, p. 42, hesitates to accept it); see Akinean, *HA* 1953, 4–6, p. 166.

[2] So BM and D6333 and D1721 (Group 2); D1682, followed by E and S, reads after '. . . country' 'and by this rule the lands of the Armenians and Albanians have dwelt in harmonious brotherhood under an inviolable covenant to this day'; see Datean, *Ararat*, 1897, p. 68, and Introduction, p. xii.

Chapter 10. *Concerning Vaṭē, king of Albania, and how he rejects pagan error and believes in the Living God; he does battle against Persia and becomes a monk, living a holy life in the wilderness*[1]

In the nineteenth year of his reign, death came to Yazkert, and his two sons opposed each other and fought for supremacy. Whilst they were thus in confusion, Vaṭē, king of Albania, rebelled. He was their sister's son and in accordance with the national tradition had previously been a Christian, but the lawless Yazkert had forced him to become a Magian. Now, however, considering the time propitious, he decided that it was better to die in battle than to retain his kingdom as a renegade. In the course of the protracted hostilities, a man from the Aryan army called Ṙaham,[2] a member of the Mihrean family and tutor of Yazkert's youngest son, defeated and routed his army, captured the king's son and killed him on the spot. He induced the survivors to join the Aryan army and made his ward, whose name was Peroz, king. The king of Albania, however, had no desire to submit to him as a vassal, but threw open the gates of Čołay and led in the forces of the Mask'ut'k'; he allied himself to the eleven mountain kings, opposed the Aryan army in battle and inflicted great losses upon the royal forces. Although Peroz sent him petitions a second and a third time, he was unable to persuade him; he defied him with letters and messages for having vainly laid waste the lands of Armenia and killing his nobles and torturing his prisoners 'whose life', he said, 'you have cut short, instead of granting them life and friendship and prosperity. It were better for me to die in torment than to live in apostasy.' When they knew that neither force nor persuasion could win him over, they sent a mighty amount of treasure to the land of the Xaylandurk',[3] opened the Alan Gates, and bringing in a large force of Huns, battled for a whole year against the king of Albania. But though his forces were weakened and scattered, they could not persuade

[1] Most of this chapter is taken from Eliše, viii, 142–6 (ed. Venice, 1950), where, however, no name is given for the king of the Albanians.

[2] So Eliše and BM; E, S *Ṙahat*.

[3] E, following Eliše, p. 198, has *yašxarhn Xaylandraç*, doubtless the original form and the one followed by Markwart, *Ērānšahr*, p. 98. All manuscripts have distortions of this, however: P1, 5, D1, 2, 3, 4, and S have . . . *Aluandreay*, while BM's *Alanaç* 'of the Alans' is a gloss. On the Xaylandurk' see Markwart, op. cit., pp. 56, 96, 98.

him; moreover, great calamities befell them, some being brought low in battle and others by evil diseases. As the siege continued, a great part of the country was laid waste, but no one deserted him. Then King Peroz sent a message to Vaċē, saying: 'Send my sister and my sister's child back to me, since they were originally Magians, and it was you who made them Christians; then your kingdom shall be yours.' The blessed man was not fighting for his domains, however, but for his religion. He had his mother and his wife brought to him and then surrendered the whole country, while he himself took the Gospel and prepared to depart. When King Peroz heard of this, he repented and threw all the blame on his father; he set his seal to sincere promises and sent them to him, saying: 'I shall do whatever you say, only do not depart from your country.' But he agreed to accept only his personal property, the thousand families (*erd*) he had received from his father; these he accepted from the king and dwelt within them in the company of monks. Thus did he live free from care in the paths of God, forgetting that he had ever been king. Such was his life.

Chapter 11. *The Letter from Bishop Giwt to St. Vaċē, full of God's heavenly grace*[1]

GREETINGS. Since the innermost desire of my soul was to preach of your holy love of virtue, my mind has become full, and by the power of Heaven I am enabled to express my thoughts in words. And a great and terrible fear has fallen upon me, a fear higher than the highest heavens and lower than the nethermost hemisphere, and it has beset me from above and below, from behind and before, from right and left. I cannot flee, and I fear to sink and to drown like the apostle Peter in the bottomless sea. But if the Lord Jesus stretch forth his hand to help me, this shall embolden me, and I shall penetrate the impenetrable; for I possess the reason of mind which tells me that some spiritual substance is in the virtue of brave men who astonished the angels and who, having no written laws, became laws in themselves, and without laws, recognized God on high and understood all the things which had come to pass in accordance with His laws, and who without the guidance of

[1] Giwt, from Arahēz in Tayk', catholicos of Armenia *c.* 461–78 (Basmadjian); see LP 62–64, &c.

prophet or heavenly angel have seen God. And lo! I approach with love that which I feared, and draw nigh by hope, and am fearlessly fortified by faith, and I begin where it is meet to begin, namely, with an account of how first of all love of Christ dwelt in your forefather Uṙnayr who vied in heavenly zeal with Trdat, king of Armenia, and who, when he heard of the great miracles of God, the signs and wonders which were performed by St. Gregory in the land of the Armenians who straightway turned from the paths of error and in true knowledge of God threw off the burdensome yoke of the heathens and were alleviated and awakened, and spreading their wings, soared up to Heaven. Hearing of this, the brave Uṙnayr did not hesitate; the great king sent no messenger, but went in person accompanied by his grandees and nobles and numerous forces, arrived in Armenia and came into the presence of the king of gigantic strength. He received him in brotherly love and friendship, placed himself at his disposal, and revealed to him the inward and outward mysteries in the company of St. Gregory and the whole Armenian army. Your king humbled himself, falling down and embracing their hands and feet, and related all the errors of the heathens and confessed his own past sins committed in ignorance. St. Grigorios encouraged him with the coming of the Incarnation of the Son of God, who came to forgive and not to judge, to give life and not to bring death, and promised life to those who had passed from the earth. When your king heard all this, he and his soldiers imposed upon themselves a forty-day fast, renouncing their former blameworthy deeds. On the fiftieth day, when they had rejected Satan and all his works and confessed the Holy Trinity, the king descended into the most holy water and all his soldiers with him. And when the chief priest had performed over them the rite of rebirth in the Heavenly Trinity, all emerged accompanied by the Holy Ghost. On the same occasion there was given to them a blessed man consecrated bishop from the city of Rome (Constantinople) who had come with King Trdat. With these heavenly gifts King Uṙnayr came back to the land of the Albanians, and taught and confirmed them through the apostolic canons; all received the heavenly seal [of baptism] and were inscribed in the Book of Life.[1] The demons in the land were driven out, sacrifices and burnt offerings were abolished, error was con-

[1] Pl. 5, D2, 3, 4, S *i dprut'iwn kenaç*; BM *i žaṙangut'iwn erkniç*, E *i žaṙangut'iwn erknawor*, i.e. 'among those who shall inherit Heaven'.

founded and Truth exalted, the Invisible Light reigned and darkness was driven away. First fruits were dedicated to the Church, and tithes of the produce of the threshing-floor and harvest, fields and granaries,[1] and all domestic animals; land also was allotted to it, and all was put in proper order under your[2] ancestors and your[3] blessed grandmothers and father[4] down to the time of your[3] wonderful reign. The serpent (*višap*) which was ancient in the days of the first Man saw first the wonderful rebirth of your nature in the faith of your fathers, and then secondly there came into the mind of the malicious enemy in his arrogance the suspicion[5] that perhaps in the same way as Salvation came to Albania, so by this renascence Truth might enter the land of the east. He made great haste and despaired more deeply than in the days of righteous Job. He summoned and gathered together all his powers of darkness and revealed to them the evil passion which tormented him. All were terrified and trembled, and they sought a solution and came to an agreement. 'Do not worry, O brave one,' they said; 'our error is older than his truth; by means of a weak beast you vanquished the first man, can you not prevail over his children by means of this great king?' So saying, they sent the vast ocean upon you, tempestuous winds descended upon it and agitated and stirred its multitudinous waves; it began to surge and rise, and it spread and ruined the plains and the hills. And at the same time there came and fell upon you a host of heathen tribes accompanied by terrifying beasts, banners with divers emblems, loud-sounding trumpets, the blast of horns,[6] a forest of spears, shining swords, gold-embossed shields, and thick, strong lances. They, the material, sought to frighten you, the spiritual; the corruptible wished to destroy the incorruptible, and the godless strove to cut down your godly branch. Twice and three times they were defeated, but were not

[1] BM, V1, 2 *štemaranaç*; P3, E *xašanç* 'flocks'; P1, 2, 5, D1, 2, 3, 4, S *šaranaç* 'by which name the Armenians still call the fruits hung on strings and dried in the summer for consumption in the winter' (S, n. 23), 'dialect word: anything (beads, fruit) on a string, = *šark*' ' (Malxaseanç).

[2] Plural. [3] Singular.

[4] So E, S, &c.; BM reads 'under your (sg.) ancestors and father and noble grandfathers and blessed grandmother'.

[5] BM *etes zčk'naz cnund bnut'ean k'oyoy aṙajinn i hayreni hawatoyn. erkrord i goṙoz vičakēn yoyž kaskac i mit ankanēr çarasēr t'šnamoyn*; S . . . *k'oyoy bnut'ean yaṙajin i hayreni* [from here also D1, 3] *hawatoyn erkrord, or i goṙoz vičakin. yoyž kaskac* . . . ; E omits *erkrord i goṙoz vičakin.*

[6] P1, 5, S, E *galarap'oł goçmamb*; BM *dalarap'it* . . .; *NBHL* i, p. 591 quotes *dalap'it* for this passage, suggesting the meaning *ahabek* 'terrifying'.

put to shame. And He who sits in highest heaven and beholds the entire world, [both those who] observe and heed good laws and those who oppose them, saw that you alone were righteous and permitted the furious furnace to encompass you. They burned, flamed, and flared like thorns in fire, but you were like the three children in the furnace; you destroyed the power of the fire, you turned the heat of the sparks to the coolness of a rose and the darkness of the smoke into the whiteness of a lily; you transformed the destructive nature of fire into creative power, and brought the Holy Ghost[1] to your aid from highest heaven to earth. Their wise men became dolts, their brave men cowards, their threats abated, their champions hid, their multitude decreased.

Blessed are you, and blessed are they who rallied round you. You were few in numbers and you became a numberless host; outwardly you were few, but inwardly you were countless. Your spear was the spear of Joshua and your armour that of the general of God who will descend with Him on the Day of the Resurrection. His voice will move the earth, shake the rocks, break open the graves, raise the dead, make young the old, and pass judgement [on all], placing some on the right hand and others on the left hand. This befits but God alone. To you, as a faithful and loving servant and heir to his kingdom, He has granted celestial gifts which are the symbol of the Day of Resurrection. He who gloried in evil was put down; he who boasted in his error was abashed. Everything in your army was [of] twofold [significance]. If your armour was the protector of the body, it was as much the armour of Faith; if you held a shield to protect your virtuous breast from blows, you held also the shield of Hope and Faith; if the arrow flew straight by the strength of your arm, your holy prayers and supplications reached higher than the skies to God; if your sword gleamed in your virtuous arm, the brilliance of your faith flashed like lightning among the angels; your banners were the banners of Heaven and the point of your spear shone like the silver rays of the sun.

That is what struck me with terror at the beginning of my discourse. How shall I be able to tell in words that which is beyond the power of words? My words can[2] tell of the material world

[1] P1, 5, S, E *zerrordn astucoy*, 'the third [person] of God'?; BM *zerrordn astuac* 'the third God', the reading quoted in *NBHL* from Giwt's letter and explained as 'the Trinity'.

[2] BM *karē asel*; P5, S, E *oč karē asel* 'cannot tell'; P1 *oč asel*.

although even this is not possible to all men but only to those who courageously strive after learning—arithmetical, geometrical, astronomical,[1] and medical—and then attain the heights of prophetic, apostolic, and evangelical [wisdom], the beginning and the flowering. But though I had all the arts to tell of things material, and though once you yourself were matter, now you have the likeness of things immaterial. Shall I compare you to the morning star? Your rays are brighter than the morning star's. For six months she is the morning star, and for six months the evening star, but you are every day the star of morning. The morning star appears only at the hour of dawn, but you shine day and night for twenty-four hours. And if I compare you to the moon, it will amuse the wise. In one year she aborts twelve times; she is mildewed,[2] sickle-shaped, hemispherical, humid, half-lit, ailing, noctambulous, dark-loving, light-shunning, penitent-like, lame, tormented by fire, forever hiding. But you are broad, tall, lucent, a bringer of good tidings, angelic of form, gladsome, encouraging, brilliant, more handsome than your fellows of the same age. I am not capable of saying how far you are superior to the sun; I will not slander him and praise you, and yet I will tell you his nature. He moves obliquely and crookedly, goes sideways, throws shadows, dwells in the south, is tormented by winter, roasts in summer, is showered upon in spring, is parched[3] in autumn, is swallowed by night, is born in the morning; he fades the flowers, dries up the grass, drives beasts to the shade in the middle of the day, and divides the whole day into two. Rightly did the Greeks call him Apollo![4] And if you should think of his feeble brilliance, remember that he is concealed by night, hidden in clouds, darkened by dust, and agitated by storms. You have made yourself like to the sun, strengthened by the Father, encouraged by the Son, enlightened by the Holy Spirit; you are seen at night, and in the daytime the rays of your faith shine forth.

Shall I recite you an allegory? You have looked to all sides, you are more keen-sighted than the eagle and your hearing is keener

[1] E *astełabašxakanin*; P1, 5, D2, 3, 4, S *y-astrani* '?'; BM om.

[2] D1, S *žangahoc*; P5, D2 *žanghawc*; E *žangakoc*; P1 *žangaharaç* (?); BM *ang, hewc* 'unhealthy, thin'.

[3] BM *eraštut*; P5, D1, S, E *ašnut* '?'

[4] This reference to the explanation of Ἀπόλλων by ἀπόλλυμι, as indeed the general style and tone of the whole composition, shows the 'letter of Giwt' to be a product of the Hellenistic School of Armenian literature.

than that of timid beasts.[1] You have seen not only the earth, but the Great One of heaven. You have abandoned the temporary and assumed the eternal. You have renounced the gilded kingship, and behold! there is in store for you the crown which no hand has wrought and which you shall receive from the holy hands of Christ. 'He who for the sake of the gospel abandons father, mother, sisters and brothers and all his possessions shall receive an hundredfold here and everlasting life in the kingdom which passes not away' [Matt. xix. 29]. It is easier for a poor man to do this, but for a man who is a king like you it is impossible; should any man do what you have done, it would be found incredible by men, amazing by angels, and comprehensible[2] only to God, who left the numberless hosts of angels to come in the mean shape of a man. Your feat is comparable to this. He became the Life and Salvation of the entire world, while you have thrown open the gate of salvation for the whole world and your native land. The Faith was preserved, churches flourished, martyrs' chapels were unmolested, priests remained in their priesthoods, offerings on their altars, prophets in their lections, apostles in their comforting, psalmists in their blessing, virgins in their virginity, monks in their chastity, and everyone in his station. The fame of your virtue has spread from the east to Cadiz, from the south to the north. Your martyr's name is written on a golden tablet in the Book of Life in Heaven, together with those of the apostles, protomartyrs, patriarchs, and bishops. Be watchful, O wondrous one, who have become worthy of such great things and have risen to such great heights. Remain firmly anchored to Hope and inseparable from Charity; be steadfast in the True Faith, so that the Dragon of Death may not sweep his tail over our lives. For whilst you were still a child you vanquished him, and now you are a grown man, I know that you trample underfoot all his evil schemes. My mind loves you so much that if I wrote it down in words, I should expend much parchment. Many times have I come to you on account of your love, and now by my own intercession and that of the whole holy body of the church I commend you to the Holy Ghost. The Lord be with you. Amen.

[1] A3043, P1, D4, S *handratanaç*; A1087, D1 *handratanç*; A1531, A2646, A2866, P2, 3, 5, Ant, Moscow 47, E *handartanaç*; A2561, E1725, BM, P4, V1, 2, A2866 margin, P2 margin *handart anasnoç*. See Introduction, p. xi. The last reading means 'of quiet animals' presumably deer, &c., as contrasted with the bird of prey; the other readings are obscure.

[2] P1, S *imanali*; P5, BM, E *nmaneli* 'comparable'.

Martyr of Christ, sharer in the sufferings on the Cross, clothed by angels in glorious raiments, Vaṭē, my pure child, king of Albania! O Lord of this world, I, Bishop Giwt, cannot in my shameful sloth[1] presume to address words of comfort to you, victor in your unseen battle, who received encouragement not from men, but summoned to your aid the most terrible power of Christ, and excelled and were exalted above the whole world. And now, convincing you of your fortitude, I pray that you may find my salutations pleasant and sweet. Though rejoicing in your ascent, O warrior of Christ, I have no knowledge in the poorness of my formation and preparation, for no matter devised by my wisdom would be sufficient to weave a garment of praise befitting your nobility. And if all the wise rhetoricians of Greece assembled together, they would be unable to pronounce a fitting eulogy on your spiritual victory. For you have known God, and loving Him with all your heart and soul and strength, you exchanged all your possessions and honours for the one Lord of all. By making your peace with him, you acquired not merely the earth, but the wide heavens themselves. You renounced the burnt offerings of idolatrous heathens and were made fragrant in Christ, and the fame thereof spread to the west and gladdened the souls of all men. You abandoned earthly grandeur, which engenders sin, and inherited righteousness and heavenly greatness; you forsook the pleasures[2] of this world and drew near to Christ, who is the haven of peace. Marshalling my words, I shall sum up thus: you were a man, and have become an angel; on earth you had kinsmen, and now in Heaven you are the brother of Christ; you were mortal and have become immortal, for you have the freedom in Christ which gives life to the mortal; you are beloved of the angels, yearned for by mankind and sought by me who remain far behind for not having been your companion in the unseen battle with wicked Satan. I do not ask you, I beg you not to be offended and to forget my remissness. Dispel my sorrow with a letter bearing your greetings. You shared the torments of Christ; be like Him in all things, for He prayed that the sins of those who placed Him upon the Cross might not be remembered; therefore how much more does it befit you to for-

[1] Obscure. S *Giwtay episkoposi Tēr erkri, yamōt'aliç heɫgut'enē . . .*; BM *Giwt eps. teramb erkris yamōt'aliç i heɫgut'enē*; E *Giwt episkopos, i Tēr berkreaç* 'Giwt bishop, rejoiced in the Lord'.

[2] BM, E *zbōsanaç*; Pl, 5, S *zbaɫanaç* 'cares, intrigues'.

give my remissness? For He who made you whole in spirit and healthy in body, He who made you worthy of adoption by Him, He shall grant that we see you with healthy soul and body in the world and enjoy your gracious and virtuous ways. Being whole in Christ, you will be busy among us for a long time, filled with love of Christ. Amen.

Chapter 12. *The war between Trdatios and the king of the Barsiłk' in the land of Albania. Sanatruk becomes king of Albania and marches against the Armenians. Xosrov arrives with an army to help him, takes Albania and exacts tribute*

THE great King of Armenia Trdatios[1] drew up his army, descended into the plain of the Gargaraçik' and engaged the northerners in a fierce battle. The king of the Barsiłk' fought with him, threw a rope round the brave Trdatios but could not bring him down, and was himself cut in two by him. Trdatios pursued them as far as the [land of the] Huns, and many fell before the Armenian army. Artawazd Mandakuni, the Armenian commander (*sparapet*), also died.[2] Taking many hostages and gaining the northerners to his cause, Trdatios marched against Šapuh, king of Persia.[3]

At the time of the death of Trdatios, a certain Sanatruk ruled over the Albanians in the town of P'aytakaran, and he came and attacked Armenia.[4] Xosrov, the son of Trdatios, summoning Antiok'os and his Greek troops and Bagarat with the western army and Mihran governor (*bdeašx*) of Georgia, thus allied to these three, marched upon Albania.[5] Leaving a large force in the town of P'aytakaran, Sanatruk went in haste to Šapuh, king of Persia, with the Albanian army. When he had taken much booty and royal tribute, Antiok'os returned to the emperor, and Sanatruk, seizing a favourable opportunity, drew up the Albanian army at the command of Šapuh, thirty thousand in number, and charged into the midst of the Armenians. And a certain commander of the lancers, an enormous giant clad in felt, assailed the enemy on the rough ground of Awšakan, and when their weapons struck him, they rebounded without even so much as scratching him. Thereupon the

[1] *Sic*, the Greek form of the name.

[2] *mahanay* 'dies'; Patkanean (p. 302) has taken this word to be the name of a person.

[3] This paragraph is a summary of MX ii. 85.

[4] MX iii. 3.

[5] MX iii. 6.

brave Vahan Amatuni, looking to the catholic church, implored its aid, and throwing his spear into the croup of his horse, he slaughtered the enormous brute on the ground.[1]

Chapter 13. *Šapuh makes Tiran king and is saved from the northerners. The death of Aršak and the reign of Pap. The fall of Mehružan and the wounding of Urnayr in this war*

When he became king of Armenia, Tiran made peace with the Persians, and giving aid to Šapuh, he protected him from the attacks of the northerners who remained for four years in Albania and harassed Armenia. Hereafter, in accordance with his evil ways, Šapuh blinded Tiran,[2] and his son Aršak became king. At the same time Šapuh was put to confusion by the northern tribes and passed into Bithynia, and remaining there for many months, could do nothing. Then he erected a column at the side of the lake, surmounted by a lion with a book[3] at its feet, the lion representing Persia and the book the Greeks.[4]

Aršak died, Pap became king,[5] and Mehružan revolted, incurring, like Ahitophel, the destruction of his soul. There was a great battle between Pap and Mehružan. Then the brave Šergir, king of the Łekk', perished at the hand of Spandarat Kamsarakan. Then the great king of Albania, Urnayr, was wounded by Mušeł Mamikonean, the son of Vasak. Mehružan was killed by the sparapet Smbat, his head crowned with red-hot iron to the prayers of St. Nersēs.[6]

Chapter 14. *A short account of St. Gregory, the Illuminator of Armenia, and his blessed sons; and of the consecration of St. Grigoris, son of Vrt'anēs and grandson of the great St. Gregory, as catholicos of Albania and Georgia, his arrival in Albania for its conversion, his martyrdom and the translation of his relics*

As we have said, one of the Lord's disciples called Thaddaeus

[1] MX iii. 9.
[2] MX iii. 17.
[3] BM, E *matean*, following MX; S, P1, 5, D1, 2, 3, 4 *matak* 'female'.
[4] MX iii. 18.
[5] MX iii. 36.
[6] MX iii. 37.

came to part of Armenia and enlightened some of the eastern regions prior to the arrival of the praiseworthy warrior and thrice-blessed Gregory who, after the death of Xosrov, king of Armenia, treacherously murdered by Gregory's father Anak the Parthian who was drowned in the waters of the Araxes whilst taking flight, was saved by certain nurses who fled to Greece. This came to pass through the providence of the Lord as in the case of the first prophet Moses, who was delivered from the hands of the wicked Pharaoh in the ark of bullrushes in the water that he might liberate the people of God from Egyptian bondage and torment. Likewise the most holy Gregory, delivered from the swords of the Armenian nobles, watched over the salvation of Armenia and all the eastern regions in the land of the Greeks like as it were a chosen arrow hidden in the quiver wherewith the invisible enemy was to be wounded and slain. Chosen from his mother's womb and blessed already in the womb as a blessed martyr, he was sent as chief priest to the land of Togarmah and the descendants of Ashkenaz. The blessed Gregory was reared and educated in the strength of the Christian faith, and with apostolic and zealous valour he came and presented himself to Trdat, king of Armenia, and accepted his service, trusting in the words of St. Paul which bid one to 'serve the Lord of Hosts and one's human masters with humble virtue and not in ostentatious servility and obedience' [Col. iii. 22]. He begat two sons, Aristakēs and Vrt'anes. The king, obsessed by his worship of divers unclean gods, undertook with the aid of an evil dragon to make the powerful martyr in Christ worship the gods of filth in the pit of perdition. He ill-treated the holy man by many and various tortures, but could not impose his will upon the unshakeable faith of the blessed man. Fighting valiantly every day, he bore off the prize of victory over the invisible and visible enemy. When the king could find no way of compelling the virtuous man to abandon the true faith of Christ, the evil one inspired the minds of his evil servants, and they took and threw St. Gregory into an exceedingly deep pit in the town of Artašat. He remained in these snake-infested depths for thirteen years until certain blessed women, Hṙip'simē and Gayanē and thirty-five companions, were massacred by the same king of Armenia and their bodies cast out. Then Almighty God visited the blessed Gregory and the blessed martyrs, the holy companions of St. Hṙip'simē, and great punishment fell upon Armenia, or rather not so much punishment as a

sign of great mercy, just as one admonishes a beloved son but ignores an alien stepson. The same demons which they worshipped with oblations and offerings fell upon the enemies, drove them mad and made them devour their own flesh, and turning the king into the form of a hog, caused him to take refuge among the reeds. They were filled with such great fear and terror that they thought the end of the world had come. While all men great and small were in fear and trembling, an angel of mercy sent by God appeared in a vision at night to a certain woman named Xosroviduxt, the sister of Trdat, king of Armenia, and said: 'It is not possible for you to be relieved of your afflictions other than by St. Gregory; therefore go and fetch him from the deep pit.' When she awoke, she related her dream, but all bade her be silent and reproached her, saying: 'Are you also, then, possessed? How could one find so much as his bones?' When the vision had been repeated a second and a third time, the unbelievers, impelled by the severity of their misfortunes, went to the mouth of the pit, and hesitantly repeated God's words: 'Come out, if you be alive!' And straightway Gregory announced that he lived. They lifted him out in great joy and took him to Nor K'ałak' [New Town, i.e. Vałaršapat], the royal residence of the king of Armenia. They brought the men possessed of demons, raving and biting their own bodies, against their will before the great Gregory. They brought also before the saint the bedevilled king from the rushes, and the great St. Gregory knelt and in tears begged All-merciful God for the redemption of the afflicted nation. And there and then, by the saint's prayers, they received healing for their physical ills and enlightenment for their souls. Although there had been no mention of the blessed women who had received the martyr's crown, he had himself with his prophetic eye witnessed their martyrdom for the sake of Christ from the depths of the pit, and he asked: 'Where are the relics of the saints?' The people were amazed and said: 'What saints does he mean?' When he told them the names of the martyrs, however, they understood, and showed him the holy and revered bones. Gregory took them and wrapped them in their ragged clothes and would allow no one to approach the saints' bodies before they had been cleansed in the font of salvation; and he placed them in a chapel in the place where the saints had received the martyr's crown. And Gregory taught and advised the whole realm of Armenia, and baptizing with the redeeming cross and enlightening them by

baptism in the well of salvation, he made them worthy to receive the grace of the ineffable Holy Spirit by partaking of the redeeming body and blood of the Lord.[1]

And when he refused the patriarchal throne, the angel of the Lord came to the great Gregory and said to him: 'Do not refuse and persist in your humility, but be bold and accept the twofold imperishable glory accorded to the patriarchate by God.' And he accepted the dignity of patriarch and went and converted the lands of the Georgians and Albanians. Arriving in the province of Haband, he taught them to keep the commandments of the Son of God. He laid the foundations of a church in the comopolis of Amaras and appointed workmen and foremen to build a church there.[2] He returned to Armenia where he consecrated his son Vrt'anes in his place, establishing him upon the patriarchal throne; he was full of grace inherited from his father and lived according to his teaching. He who lived an upright and virtuous life punished and admonished those he knew to be of the sect of devil-worshippers, and he rebuked the king's wife for her enormous fornications. When he entered a church in the province of Tarōn to celebrate the eucharist, a large crowd of evil and devil-worshipping men gathered together intent on killing the blessed Vrt'anes at the instigation of the king's wife, but when they stormed into the porch of the church they were immediately bound and fettered by demons at the command of the Lord, and they remained stiff-necked and speechless until the holy man had done God's will, and coming to the door, stood in amazement. When he asked the reason for what had happened, they confessed their evil plan and the intentions of the queen. He said a prayer and cured them all by the laying-on of hands, and warned them to do no more evil, but to seek mercy by repentance.[3] The name of one of his two sons was Yusik; of virtuous and saintly disposition, he led a holy life and was also crowned a martyr, for when succeeding to his father's patriarchal throne he opposed the king for his sinful wickedness and at his command he was clubbed to death in church.[4] The other was called Grigoris after the name of his grandfather, and he was

[1] The foregoing is a summary of the *History of Agat'angełos*. It is omitted by BM which reads instead: 'Agat'angełos will teach the history of the thrice-blessed Gregory, but the work performed in Albania by the young Grigoris will be found in this book.'

[2] FB iii, 6, ed. Venice, 1933, p. 26.

[3] FB iii. 3.

[4] MX iii. 14; FB iii. 12.

his like and equal throughout his virtuous life. He did not marry after the way of the world, but eagerly sought the spiritual heritage of his fathers. In his childhood he versed himself diligently in the Holy Scriptures and controlled the sensations of the flesh by prayer and fasting and enlightened his soul with loving faith. Within a short time he received the twofold honour enjoyed by the transcendental eminence of his grandfather, the great Gregory, namely the dignity of the patriarchal throne and the most venerated crown of martyrdom for good works. For at the age of fifteen the young Grigoris was consecrated bishop of Georgia and Albania, and he went and taught in these two lands and established the Christian faith there; he built churches in accordance with the orders and towns[1] and consecrated priests, exhorting all to serve holiness and to be zealous in the commemoration of the saints. Aflame with the zeal of apostolic righteousness, he fulfilled the command of the incarnate Son of God, circulating among all the heathens, baptizing them in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, teaching them to keep all the Lord's commandments and to carry with them no gold, silver or bronze, but only a staff and scrip. Teaching all these things, the blessed man received as his fitting and most valuable reward the honoured blood of the great patriarch and martyr Zacharias, the father of John, and the relics of St. Pantaleon, who confessed the true faith of Christ and was crowned a martyr in the town of Nicomedia. He brought the most holy relics of the martyrs to the great town of Čŕi in the principality of Albania, built a small church there, and deposited therein with great care part of the blood of Zacharia and the relics of St. Pantaleon, appointing a priest named Daniel to watch over and serve the martyrs in Christ.[2] He took half of the relics of St. Zacharias and the blessed Pantaleon with him to the country of Mask'ut'k' and came into the presence of Sanēsan, king of the Mask'ut'k', who was of the Arsacid family. He preached the one creative power of the ineffable Trinity, the Incarnation of the Word, the divers miracles He performed on earth, His crucifixion, death, and resurrection on

[1] P1, 5, S, E *əst kargaç ew k'ałakaç*; the meaning of this phrase is obscure, and Patkanean's translation 'in villages and towns' is hardly correct. It may mean something like 'in consideration of the general distribution of the ecclesiastical hierarchy and the importance of the towns'; omitting the *ew*, it would mean 'in accordance with the order (rank, importance) of the towns'. BM has *əst k'ałak'aç* 'according to the towns'.

[2] See below, i. 19, 20.

the third day, the ascension of His body into heaven, and the second advent to judge the quick and the dead. At first they joyfully accepted the word of the gospel. Evil Satan, however, entered their hearts and tempted them to resent the redeeming commandments of the Lord, and they began to reject the true authoritative words of the blessed man. For in his sermons he quoted the wish of the kind Lord that men should not loot, plunder, or steal, but should labour manfully and rejoice in the Lord; and they said: 'This is a ruse on the part of the king of Armenia to prevent us from looting his country; if we do not loot, how shall we live?' They then persuaded the king to listen to their wiles, tied the young Grigoris to the tail of a mettlesome steed, and released it into the Vatnean plain. Thus was the saint martyred. His disciples retrieved his body and took it to the comopolis of Amaras in the province of Haband.[1] There he was laid to rest in a chapel near the north side of the church. They placed the holy blood of Zacharias in one glass bottle and the relics of the blessed Pantaleon in another, and placing both bottles with the remains of the young Grigoris, they fled to Armenia, for Sanēsan was invading Armenia with an innumerable force of Huns. Divine Goodness, however, gave the Armenian nobles power to avenge the blood of the young St. Grigoris. They put many of the army to the sword, and there remained not one to bear the ill-tidings to the land of the Mask'ut'k', for they were all slain by the sword of their kinsmen.[2]

At that time the fortified town (*berdak'ałak'*) of Čŕi rebelled against the Albanian king and gave assistance to the king of Persia, and the Argesaçik' came and took the town; and finding the priest of Čŕi, the disciple of the young Grigoris whom he had left there to minister to the saints, they martyred him and his boy. For there was with him a young Čiłb[3] who adhered to the Christian faith and had been baptized and who, wishing to learn the Christian way of life, had become a disciple of the priest. They cast both of them in chains and tortured them in order to force them to worship ashes[4] and filthy demons. When they could not get their way by force, they pleaded with the young man. 'You are a man of our own country,' they said; 'do as we wish, and we shall honour you greatly

[1] FB iii. 6; MX iii. 3. MD's account agrees largely with FB, but includes hagiographical details from elsewhere.

[2] FB iii. 7.

[3] On the Čiłbk' (Pliny's *Silvi*), see Kretschmer in Pauly–Wissowa, *Real-encyclopädie*, s.v. *Silvi*.

[4] *linel moxrapašt*.

in our principality.' 'It is better I die before the priest in the name of Christ', he replied, 'than dwell in the midst of sinners.' They immediately struck off their heads with a sword, and they thus received the crown of blessedness and the victor's prize of martyrdom in the same way as their spiritual father, the young Grigoris. Certain Syrian priests took them to the village of Haku, placed them in a sanctuary, and built a monastery over the place. And there, it is said, the relics of the saints have remained to this day. This took place in the reign of the valorous Vaċē, king of Albania. The most holy relics of the blessed martyrs remained hidden and secret until the reign of Vaċagan the Third, called the Pious, king of Albania; for from Vaċagan the Brave to King Vaċē [II] there were nine kings of Albania, and the tenth was the pious and godly King Vaċagan, king of Albania.

Chapter 15. *A list of the names of the established rulers [of Albania] from Japheth and Aṙan to Vaċagan*

JAPHETH, Gomer, Tiras, Togarmah, Hayk, Armeneak, Aramayis, Amasia, Gełam, Harmay, Aram (a contemporary of Abraham), Aray the Fair (a contemporary of Isaac), Anušawan, P'arēt, Arbak, Zavan (a contemporary of Joshua), P'aṙnas, Sur, Hawanak, Vštak, Haykak, Ambak, Aṙnak, Šawarš, Norayr, Vstam, Kar, Goṙak, Hrant, Ənjak, Dłak, Horoy, Zarmayr, Perč (a contemporary of David), Arbun, Bazuk, Hoy, Yusak, Kaypak, Hskayordi (he received his crown from the king of Babylon), Paroyr, Hraċeay, P'aṙnawaz, Pačoyč, Koṙnak, P'awos, the second Haykak, the short-lived Eruand, Tigran.[1]

Aṙan of this lineage was set over the Albanians.[2] The number of days from Aṙan to Vaċagan the Brave, who was of the great Arsacid family, is not clear, but those who subsequently became the ten kings of Albania bore the following names: Vaċagan the Brave, Vaċē, Uṙnayr, Vaċagan [II], Mrhawan, Satoy, Asay, Esuałēn, Vaċē [II], then Vaċagan [III] the Pious, king of Albania.[3]

[1] From MX i. 5, 19, 22.

[2] MX ii. 8.

[3] MD's source for this list of names is unknown. Uṙnayr (see above, p. 7, n. 6) and Esuałēn (MX iii. 54: Arsuałēn, king of Albania, contemporary of St. Mesrob and the Albanian patriarch Eremia) are the only ones found in other histories; cf. Akinean, *Handēs Amsorea*, 1953, 4–6, p. 166.

A great town Perozapat was built by Vaċē by order of Peroz, king of Persia, and is now called Partaw.

Chapter 16. *The life and deeds of King Vaċagan, Albanian institutions established by him, and the discovery of the relics of the saints*

FOR thirty years between the reign of Vaċē and that of Vaċagan the Pious, the kingdom of Albania remained without a king, for the wicked and godless king of Persia, as furious and frenzied as a mad dog, strove to subject all other monarchies to him and at the same time to destroy the Church and the Christian religion and faith and to establish by his authority a mad idolatry. The blood of holy martyrs in Christ was spilled by iniquitous hands and virtuous people without number were slain by the sword of the wicked, while weeping women and children were taken prisoner and borne away to cruel bondage in a foreign land. They murdered many Armenian, Georgian, and Albanian nobles in the attempt to pervert them to Magian idolatry, persuading some by force and others by bribes, distributing great princedoms among them, and establishing fire-temples (*atrušank'*) in many places; and the fire-worship of foul idols grew strong. The divers sects of wicked Satan, now fortified, oppressed the unfortunate people of Albania who were accused of rebellion and cast into chains and fetters and compelled against their will to submit to the Magian religion. Owing to the tyrannical and violent iniquity of the king, Vaċagan also accepted the Magian religion with them; but in secret he would constantly rise for prayers and fasts and the confession of Christ, until the time came when God took heed of the shedding of the blood of the martyrs of Christ and the destruction of holy churches and the useless slaughter of men old and young, and the bondage of women and children, and the destruction of the souls of the sinless ruined by the Magian religion. He sent the Hephthalites as a rod of wrath against the violent and bloodthirsty king of Persia, and they defeated and massacred and utterly annihilated the prince of the land of Persia together with his people by the multitudes of their numberless forces. Perhaps it was this that the blessed Isaiah prophesied in the vision he saw over Babylon: 'Truly the giants come to satisfy my wrath; they rejoice as they come and are hostile.

The Lord of Hosts commanded many tribes to come from a distant land, and the Lord has come with His armed soldiers. Lament, all you wicked and unclean generations, for the day of the Lord is nigh, and destruction has come upon you from God. Because of these things all hands shall grow weak and labour pains shall seize you like women in travail. For behold! the day of the Lord has come upon you with deadly, immense and irremediable wrath to render you childless and remove you from the earth' [Isa. xiii. 3–8]. Truly, this prophecy was fulfilled again upon the king of Persia, the most wicked Peroz, for at the command of God the Hephthalites came like giants to satisfy the wrath of the Lord. First they struck down his sons, his evil children, with the edge of the sword and massacred them before him with all the nobles and governors of the land and the masses of his numberless armies; and the king himself, the most wicked Peroz, was put to the sword and was lost among the numberless corpses, and buried in the grave of an ass. And they looted and bore away the immense riches amassed by them in their wickedness. They ravaged the women, they spared not the children, they took no mercy upon the orphans. Verily, they sated the wrath of the Lord and avenged the evils which the wicked Peroz had wrought upon many peoples, and turned them sevenfold upon his own head. Then the Church of God was filled with joy, for the evil children of Satan had been seized by their enemies, and they were not stoned, but put to the sword, and they departed this life in agony. And that same filthy man and all his wicked children were put to the sword, and they departed this world in a cruel and painful death. And when the Lord had completely destroyed Peroz, the evil was removed by the will and power of the Most High.[1]

Chapter 17. *The reign of Vałaršak, from whom Vačagan receives the kingdom of Albania*

WHEN the wicked Peroz was removed from this world by a painful death, his father's brother Vałaršak ruled in his stead.[2] And the word of the Lord, namely, 'whoever shall do and teach shall be

[1] This chapter is mostly from LP lxxxv, but this author does not mention Vačagan.

[2] Vałarš (484–8) was the brother of Peroz (459–84); see LP lxxxvii (ed. Venice, 1933, p. 511).

called great in the kingdom of God' [Matt. v. 19] was fulfilled in Vačagan, for this the pious king did. He turned first from the path of sin and performed many and divers virtuous deeds, converting the whole kingdom from wicked and diabolical idolatry to the path of holy and righteous service of God, and by sincere repentance he added to his virtue. The nobles of his land, who had at the same time sullied their spiritual wisdom by Magianism and the filthy worship of idols and had corrupted their bodies by vile fornication, were induced by his earnest remonstrances to confess the truth of Christ, and he taught on the authority of the Holy Scriptures that the Resurrection would come at the behest of the Son of God with severe chastisement in undying fire for ever and ever for the apostates and the unrepentant and wicked evil-doers, but that gifts of everlasting and ineffable glory would come to those who confessed the inscrutable Godhead and who should be resurrected thanks to their good works in accordance with the Divine Will. Those who had been baptized in the font of grace and had been led astray into Magianism he strengthened by repentance; those who from their childhood had followed the path of perdition he ordered to be baptized and made worthy of holy communion in the body and blood of the Saviour, the Son of God. He rejoiced not so much in his kingship as in the obedient conformance of all the nobles of his kingdom to the will of the Church, in accordance with its redeeming commandments to the effect that whosoever should lead a soul from the path of error and teach it the ways of righteousness should save his own soul from death and atone for the multitude of his own sins. Participating daily in the divine services he diligently performed great deeds for the commemoration of the saints. He commanded the fortified region of Arçax which he held in vassalage to abandon and renounce the divers forms of sacrificial service to the worship of unclean idols. He was most virtuous and brought prosperity to his country; he was peace-loving and master of all the lands in his kingdom which the wicked Peroz had wrested out of his authority and whose native princes, to each of whom Vačagan now restored his authority, he had suppressed. Then the land of Albania renounced its native royalty and accepted Vačagan from the royal family of Persia,[1] a man great in valour and wise and

[1] P5, D1, S, E *Yaynžam Ałuaniç ašxarhn hareal ziwreanç hayreni t'agaworut'iwnn ew arʿeal zVačagan i t'agaworakan zawakēn* (E *zarmēn*). BM *Yaynžam naxarark' Ałuaniç arʿeal ziwrak'ančiwr išxanut'iwns, miabaneal arʿnun*

thoughtful, tall and handsome in stature, the son of Yazkert and brother of King Vaṭē of Albania; and they took him and made him king at the hands of Vałaršak, king of Persia. When he came to Albania he devised means to make it possible to forsake the godless creed of the Magians and openly confess Christ as the true lord. God in His providence moved the mind of the king, and King Vałaršak of Persia commanded that everyone should keep to his own laws and that none should be forced to convert to the Magian creed. When he heard this, the pious and godly King Vaṭagan turned again to the Church of God with heartfelt joy, and with many prayers and tears he confessed the eternal and ineffable Trinity, and besought and entreated the bishops and hermits and all the monks to join him in penitence and prayer in order to conciliate the all-merciful Lord. He himself was diligent in fasts and prayer and charity to the poor, for he reflected that the blessed Peter, after his renunciation, was still able to become first among the apostles, Keeper of the Gates, and a prince in the Kingdom of Heaven; and again, how one of the Lord's disciples disbelieved and afterwards, confessing our Lord and God, achieved the rank of apostle; and again, how many, many sinners had reached the very heights of virtue and had become heirs to the eternal, beautiful Kingdom. The pious king bore all this in mind and sanctified and cleansed himself in the virtue of pure faith by true conversion to the true Deity. He became the physician of many other lands in their conversion to the God of all men, Jesus Christ; he became their liberator from the bitter servitude of Satan. For he is truly the wisest among doctors and the most learned in medicine who, when his own body is afflicted by grievous wounds, regains his health by means of medicinal herbs and is able to bring other sufferers quickly back to health by the same remedies. Thus, a sinner who wholeheartedly turns to God and receives the medicinal herbs of repentance for the health of his soul may, with the same salutary remedies of confession and repentance, become the healer of the souls of others and the immortalizer of their bodies, and convert them completely to the holy and pure Christian religion. And he laid down punishments and fines to be imposed upon whomsoever should set up an altar or fashion an idol or worship

zVaṭagan i yiwreanç hayreni t'agaworakan zawak[ē]n 'then the Albanian *naxarars*, each having recovered his own principality, convened and accepted Vaṭagan from their own native royal family [of Albania]'.

unclean gods[1] or should not keep wholly and firmly to the precepts of Christianity. He warned the witches, sorcerors, and heathen priests a first and again a second time, that if any of them were found perpetrating the said evils, they would be brought to the royal court and chastised by means of cruel chains and whips; and subsequently punishing many witches, sorcerors, and heathen priests, strangling some, banishing some and reducing others to slavery, he admonished and baptized many and made them learn the way to knowledge of God. In many places he established bishops and priests and supervisors; he issued the same strict commands in Kambičan and Albania. He established bishops and priests and deacons, and the whole church community was honoured and respected in the years of the reign of the pious king Vaṭagan.

Chapter 18. *The foundation of schools for the evil-born sons of sorcerers; the discovery of the unclean sect of finger-cutters and their death*[2]

VAṬAGAN, crowned by God, commanded that the sons of the witches, sorcerers, heathen priests, finger-cutters, and poisoners be assembled and placed into schools to be given religious instruction and taught the Christian way of life in order to confirm ⟨the heathen tribes of their fathers in the faith of the Trinity and true worship of God. He ordered all the boys to gather together in his private village called Ṙustak, established grants, and placed a headmaster over them, and commanded them to study Christianity⟩.[3]

[1] P5, D4, S *diç atteaç*; BM, Q *diç atteteaç* (P4 (*or*)*di çatteteaç*); the following readings are to be rejected: E *diwçazgeaç* (a word not attested elsewhere but presumably intended as an equivalent of *diwçazanç* 'heroes, demi-gods'); D3 *diçateaç* '?'; P1, S 1 var. *diç asteaç* 'gods of this world'.

[2] The passages concerning the *matnahatk'* are quoted by O. G. von Wesendonk, 'Über georgisches Heidentum', *Caucasica*, Leipzig, 1924, fasc. 1, pp. 55–56. There is a Caucasian legend that a Mingrelian bit off the finger of the apostle Andrew whilst he was preaching, on account of which the Mingrelians became known as 'finger-eaters'; Kekelidse finds the source of this legend in the 'Sinopian finger-eater' of Epiphanius (refs. in K. Kekelidse, 'Die Bekehrung Georgiens zum Christentum', *Morgenland*, xviii (Leipzig, 1928), p. 12).

[3] BM, Q, V1, 2, P4 *i hawats errordut'ean, ew ułił ya[stua]capaštut'iwn ziwreanç ambarišt hayrunean azgs. isk yolovs i mankaçē yiwr sep'akan geōłn Ṙustak anun žołovel, ew kargēr ṙočiks ew dprapet i veray ew hramayēr varžel ew hmut linel kargi k'ristonēut'ean*; P1, 5, S, E om.

When he went into the village to perform a service of commemoration for the saints, he would sit in the school, gather the sons of the sorcerers and heathen priests around him, and command the crowd which encircled him, some of whom held books and others writing-tablets in their hands, to read aloud together. And he was happier than a man who had uncovered a rich booty. He began to investigate the wicked sect of finger-cutters, for both[1] are murderous sects. Whilst he was making these inquiries, God, who loves mankind, willed that the wicked sect should be delivered from the country by the godly king. For a long time, ever since Vaṭē had learned of their wickedness in Albania, other kings had either been unable to capture them or had remained indifferent. The accursed and wicked Persian marzpans often caught them, however, but they released them again in exchange for bribes. But one day, when they were performing the evil act of finger-cutting in a cave in a wood on the banks of the river Kur and had bound a boy to four sticks by his thumbs and big toes and were flaying him alive, another younger boy chanced to walk along a nearby path. Hearing the groaning,[2] he went in and saw the evil acts of the murderous criminals; and they pursued him with the intention of seizing him also, but he ran away and dived into the Kur. There happened to be a tree on an islet in the middle of the river, and he made for this and climbed it[3] without the criminals finding out. He recognized the men, escaped, crossed the river, and hastened to relate everything to the king. When the king heard this, he offered up prayers and thanksgiving to Christ, lover of Man, and commanded the clergy to fast and to pray that this wicked idolatry might be uncovered and extirpated from the country, for Satan had such a hold over the minds of his minions that it had never yet been possible to make the members of the evil sect confess. The king ordered the arrest of the men who had been seen committing the murder and many other men who were known by repute, but when they put them to the test with many beatings and cruel tortures, they were unable to make the criminals confess. He ordered a mixture of scalding vinegar and borax to be poured up their nostrils while they were laid out on the ground, and their eyes turned white and rolled

[1] The other sect referred to is possibly that of the poisoners which was liquidated at the same time (below, p. 32).

[2] BM, P4 *i vayiwn andr*; P1, 2, 3, 5, V1, 2, E *i vaṙiw andr* 'on the morrow'; D4, S *i vazi and* '?'.

[3] Brosset, *Additions*, p. 472, mistranslates as 'he crossed it on a tree'.

in their heads, but even throughout that dreadful torture they denied everything and would not confess. Since God had made it possible, however, as we said above, to efface the evil sect from the kingdom through the king, the latter cleverly devised a method whereby to make them confess, and he ordered them to be taken to the scene of the murder. First of all, he commanded one of them who was younger than the rest to be released, and to him he solemnly swore as follows: 'I shall not command you to be put to death if you confess and truthfully reveal to us the details of this devil-worship.' And falling on his face, the young man began to divulge the secrets of the evil sect: 'The devil appears in human form and orders three ceremonies (*dask'*) to be held, each one comprising three men; these are not to be wounded or slain,[1] but while still alive are each to have the skin and thumb of the right hand removed and drawn with the skin over the chest to the little finger of the left hand; the little finger is then to be cut and broken off inside [the skin]. The same is to be done to the feet while the victim is still alive, and then he is to be slain and flayed, arranged (*kazmel*) and placed in a basket. When the time appointed for the wicked service arrives, a folding iron chair is set up, the feet of which are in the shape of human feet, and which many of us saw brought there. A valuable garment is placed upon the chair, and when the devil comes, he dons this garment, sits on the chair, and taking a weapon, he examines the skin of the man[2] together with the fingers. If one is unable to acquire the stipulated [victim], he orders the bark to be stripped from a tree and an ox or a sheep to be offered to him, and he eats and drinks with the evil congregation. A saddled and harnessed horse is held ready, and mounting the horse, he gallops it to a standstill;[3] then he becomes invisible and disappears. This he repeats every year.'

[1] P1, 4, 5, D4, V1, 2, BM, Q *ew mēn* (BM, Q, P4, *min*) *eris mards unel. ew mi xoçel ew mi spananel*; E *mēneris mardn unel.* . . . There is in the text no justification for Brosset's translation (*Additions*, p. 472): 'three men, destined one to be mutilated, the second to be mutilated, and the third to be flayed alive'.

[2] P1, 4, 5, S, E *aṙeal zēn mardoyn zmort'n . . . tesanē*; BM *aṙeal zinn mardoy mort'n . . . tesanē* 'taking the skin of the nine men . . .'.

[3] The horse played an important role in Caucasian ceremonies. In the present passage the horse is doubtless the *sulis cẖeni* 'soul-horse' intended to accompany the soul of the victim in the after-life (see R. Bleichsteiner, 'Roßweihe und Pferderennen im Totenkult der kaukasischen Völker', *Die Indogermanen- und Germanenfrage*, Univ. Inst. für Völkerkunde, Vienna, 1936, p. 459); this pagan custom survived the introduction of Christianity, as can be seen from No. 3 of

He pointed out a man and woman belonging to the wicked sect, and others confessed in the same manner. The king then commanded the man who had told him all this as follows: 'Your life is spared in accordance with my oath. Now, however, do to them as they did to others.' And the man performed the things to which he had confessed upon many of them in the presence of the royal camp, while half of them were taken off to their own villages and were slain in like manner in each place. And the king commanded many poisoners to be killed, for that sect adhered to the form of worship in which the Devil would each year order a man to be given the poison and killed; and if one was unable to give it to a stranger, the devil would torment him until he gave the deadly poison to one of his own family. There were other idolatrous sects who maintained that there was one demon who made those refusing to worship wickedness blind, and another who gave them spots; and if any should betray another, the witchcraft of evil demons would bring upon him the afflictions of blindness and spots. These were seized by the king and removed from the world in dire torment. Others also he purged from the kingdom of the Albanians like a brave and virtuous husbandman tending his fields with compassion and love, uprooting the thistles and tares and scattering and sowing the good seed to bear fruit thirtyfold and sixtyfold and an hundredfold. Then almighty and merciful God, observing the beauty of the noble conduct of this man and beholding with what diligence he strove to do the will of God, bestowed upon him the relics of the most holy martyrs in Christ from the place where the spiritual and ineffable treasure lay hidden.

the canons of Vaçagan at i. 26, p. 51 below. Compare also the 'swift gallops on horseback' which took place at the Khazar funeral described below (ii, 40, p. 156) and Abu 'l-Qāṣim's account of a Russian funeral: 'On fit courir deux chevaux jusqu'à ce qu'ils fussent couverts de sueur; puis on les mit en pièces à coups de sabre et on jeta les morceaux dans le navire' (A. C. Mouradja d'Ohsson, *Des peuples du Caucase . . . ou Voyage d'Abou-el-Cassim*, Paris, 1828, p. 98). The Khazars offered horse-hides to their gods (ii. 41, p. 156) and their mutilation of their enemies' horses (ii. 16, p. 106) may have had some religious significance. One might also note that the horse was the instrument of Grigoris's murder (i. 14, p. 23).

Chapter 19. *The discovery of the relics of St. Zacharias, father of John, and of the blessed Pantaleon, who was martyred in Nicomedia, which had been brought by the young Grigoris to the land of the Čilbs*[1]

MANY signs and miracles occurred in the town called Ṭṙi in the place where the relics of the blessed martyrs in Christ lay. None knew of the whereabouts of the saints' relics and the inhabitants of the country were heathens, but the fevered and sick used to go and take earth from the church where the relics of the saints lay, and though they were heathens, there were many cures. The dumb religion of the wicked Persians, always in opposition to the Church of God, [was practised here], and a certain Persian magian came to the place where the relics of St. Zacharias lay to make mockery and to relieve himself; but no sooner had he loosened the string of his trousers and emptied his bowels on the earth than he departed this life in great agony. This miracle was related by Yunan, archbishop of the Honk',[2] who came from the country of the Mask'ut'k',[3] a very truthful man who was himself an eyewitness of this event. Then in Haku where the relics of the blessed martyrs who were martyred in Ṭṙi by the Persian Argesaçik' lay, a man of splendid and glorious appearance and a youth likewise of shining and awe-inspiring form revealed themselves at night in a vision to the priest of the monastery, whose name was Yakob, saying: 'Go to Ṭṙi and tell the governor of the town, whose name is Xočkorik, an Albanian noble, and we shall show him this same vision; we are saints in the church, and you and he are to remove us.' The priest paid no attention to this, however, and the same vision was repeated a second and a third time, but still he disregarded it. Then he fell grievously ill and came near to dying, and the same men in forms of angelic glory and splendour came and said to the priest: 'Do you

[1] Cf. Awgerean, *Liakatar vark' . . . srboç*, v, pp. 376–7; G. Bayan, 'Le Synaxaire arménien de Ter Israel', *Patrologia Orientalis*, tome v, p. 501 (26 Navasard, 5 September).

[2] P4, 5, BM, Q, E *Honaç*; P1 D1, 4 *Yunaç* 'Greeks'. Markwart, *Bistümer* p. 216, n. 2, accepts E's reading but erroneously assumes it to be conjecture on E's part.

[3] P4, BM, Q *i Mask'ut'aç aš̌xarhēn*; P1, *i Msk'ay aš̌xarhēn*; P5 *i Maskt'aç aš̌xarhin*; D2 *i Mackt'aç . . .*; D3 *i Makt'aç . . .*; S *i Mokt'ay aš̌xarhin*; E *i Mazkt'aç aš̌xarhēn*. Markwart, loc. cit., p. 216, n. 3, amends this needlessly to **i Majkt'ai aš̌xarhēn*, again considering E's reading to be conjectural.

not know why you are dying?' He replied: 'No, lords.' 'It is because you were disobedient and obstinate', they said, 'and would not go to Xočkorik to retrieve our relics; and behold, now you die!' The priest pleaded with them and begged to be healed in order that he might hasten to fulfil their command, and they placed their hands upon him, made the sign of the life-giving cross, and his health was immediately restored. He rose and went to the town of Čṙi, found the town governor Xočkorik, who welcomed him as a priest and asked him no questions. Since the men in the vision had said that Xočkorik would also be shown a vision, the priest said nothing about it. After supper they arose; the priest went to sleep in the church with two other priests attached to the governor, and Xočkorik slept attended by two servants. The same men came in the same awe-inspiring shape and said to Xočkorik: 'Rise and go to the church, for the saints are there; fetch them with the priest.' And rousing him from his sleep, they said: 'Go quickly, for this is a vision.' Sleep, however, again overtook him, and the vision reappeared. 'We have not spoken merely in order that you should rise early', they said, 'but for the sake of our relics which are in the church; go and fetch them with the priest.' He awoke in a terrible fright, but sweet sleep once more overpowered him. And a third time the men, clothed in light and in most illustrious and resplendent forms, appeared, and said: 'Rise and go to the church, in which you shall see a bright light; note where the light shines, for there lie the relics of the saints.' The vision reappeared simultaneously to the priest, and he rose and went outside the church to Xočkorik who came to tell him of his vision. They met, explained to each other why [they had risen], and told each other of their vision. Then the priest Yakob and the noble Xočkorik, together with the two priests attached to the governor and the two servants, approached the church, making the sign of the cross. When they had entered the porch near the dais and had prayed before the cross, they beheld a bright and awe-inspiring light in the church. It was of such terrifying appearance that they were unable to rise to their feet, and even when they had sung a psalm or two, they were still incapable of rising; when they had sung a third psalm, however, Almighty God succoured them, and it was as though a man had helped them to their feet. They crossed themselves and entered the church, which was now filled with glorious light, and worshipped there until morning. When dawn came, all the light

in the sanctuary concentrated over the place where the relics of the blessed martyrs in Christ lay, and as the light died away, a candle flame flickered on and off above the spot until they were able to note where it was. Then they opened it and discovered the relics of the saints. There was an inscription on the vessel containing the relics which read thus: 'I, Grigoris, brought these saints, namely, Zacharias, father of John, and the blessed Pantaleon, who was martyred in the town of Nicomedia.' They removed the saints' relics and washed them and anointed them with holy chrism. Xočkorik sealed them with his own hand, and rode away on his horse to bring the message to the pious king of Albania informing him of the discovery of the great relics. The godly king was filled with gladness and joy and happily devoted himself to prayer and good works for the sake of the Lord, for he was delighted with the very great gifts He had bestowed upon him. He quickly assembled the bishops, monks, and hermits, and performed a great memorial service for the saints, generously bestowing alms upon the poor. He clad the bishops and priests in valuable garments and sent Manasē, his devoted chaplain, to bring the holy relics of the martyrs. On the way to where the saints lay, the king and queen went on foot followed by many servants and accompanied by the Cross and incense and many flowers, and a countless multitude of people; and the king blessed and glorified Jesus Christ the true Lord through the virtuous and holy martyrs. He adorned the reliquary of the saints with various royal garments and gold and silver and precious jewels, and ordered a folding wooden altar to be constructed and covered in red leather, and white linen [to be prepared] with which to embellish the inside of the repository of the saints and the gospels. Šušanik, queen of Albania, a pious and benevolent woman, ordered her great pavilion to be erected over the red altar of the saints to form a church into which the ministers and the king and many of the people might enter in order that they might in this holy tent be sheltered from heat and rain. A linen screen was erected around the pavilion so as to form an enclosure in which the king's retinue might enter at the time of the service and worship and pray to God and listen to the holy scriptures before the Holy Cross and the blessed martyrs in Christ. Since the king always took the relics of the saints with him wherever he went, he ordered litters to be made in their name and to be adorned also with red hide and valuable white linen and a cross of gold set with

precious jewels, and the name of the king was carved in gold and attached to the litter; and crosses embroidered with many coloured silks shone from the royal crown. White horses of which the king was very fond and esteemed highly were selected from the royal stables, and he had their tails dyed red. He appointed guards[1] to watch over the litter of the saints and the horses. Nothing was to be carried in the litter apart from the saints and the gospel and other sacred writings. He ordered the vehicle which was to carry the saints' altar to be harnessed to a white bull, and he appointed many priests and deacons and readers and psalmists to be attached to the court to guard and minister to the saints night and day. When the camp moved, the litter of the saints went on in front, covered in white linen with a golden cross on top, together with a royal crown woven in silks of many colours, white horses adorned with red silks, the forelocks[2] of the royal horses[3] surmounted by a crown, and with a host of servants before and behind the litter, holding crosses in their hands and praising the power of the Trinity in unison with psalm and hymn. After this came the litter of the first lady of the land with the queen's regiment behind it. When they encamped, they first erected the red altar with the cross of gold on top and then placed the great white pavilion over it, and into this the saints were placed with great reverence as they entered the chapel of rest amid burning incense and sweet-sounding hymns. Afterwards, the king's tent and other services for the king were attended to. The king and the queen and the whole camp said morning and evening prayers in glorification of the saints, for the pious and godly king had no son; swearing an oath before the monks, he besought God through the intercession of the saints to grant him a son, whereupon God, the lover of mankind and the giver of good things, listened to his prayer and granted him a fine child. He joyfully received this gift of God through the holy martyrs and called the boy Pantaleon, ordering him to be brought up to fear God and to be zealous in the worship of all the holy

[1] *paštak*. *NBHL* quotes an old dictionary with the meaning *paštōneay* 'guard, servant', but no passage is indicated.

[2] D4, S, E *z-pur-s*; P5, D2, 3 *z-pus-n*; BM *z-puh-s-n*; P4 *puh-s-n*. See below, i. 21, p. 39, n. 1; for this passage S gives the meaning 'the space between the ears'. Ačarean, *Nor baṙer*, pp. 31–33, equates it with the *poyr* of i. 27, p. 55, translating both as 'head, top'. P1 *zspass* (*t'agaworakan t'ewoçn*).

[3] D4, S *jioçn*; P4, BM *jioç*; P5 *jieançn*; E, S 1 var. *t'iaçn* '?'; S 1 var., P1 *t'ewoçn* 'arms'. At the parallel passage in i. 21 E has *jioçn*.

martyrs in Christ. When the king sat down to dine, he ordered a jug from the royal household to be filled with the royal table wine and two large silver tables, covered with the king's bread, to be placed always opposite the king's table. A servant was stationed at the foot of the royal table to take portions of whatever dishes came to the king's table and place them on the others, and when the royal dinner was finished, the servant took these and distributed them to the poor. Every Sunday when they assembled to worship God and the words of salvation were read before the large congregation, the king did not go to do homage to the gospel empty-handed. He was truly steadfast in his fear of Christ and was diligent with zealous charity in feasts and prayers with the queen and all the court. He commemorated the saints tirelessly, urging all to believe in Christ, and rejoicing greatly, he grew stronger and stronger through hope and the eternal goodness of Christ for ever.

Chapter 20. *The discovery of the relics of the blessed Grigoris, catholicos of Albania, who was martyred by the Mask'ut'k' under King Sanēsan*[1]

It was the deep desire of the pious king Vaṙagan of Albania to discover the relics of the holy youth Grigoris, for he had learned from accounts in ancient writings that St. Grigoris was martyred in the Vatnean plain on the shores of the great sea and that his disciples had carried him to the village of Amaras and placed him in the church founded by the great Gregory. And the place had been left unmarked either because they had feared that others might take the saint's relics or from fear of marauders, or because the site of the saint's relics had been forgotten with the passing of the years. The king conferred with the priests of his court in order to devise a means whereby to find what he wished to find of the exceedingly good man. Summoning the abbot of the village, he asked him whether there was any mark upon any of the graves near the church. 'There are now many graves round the church', said the abbot, 'for since the time of the invasions and the main foundation of the church, no one has been able to build upon that which the great Gregory founded.' 'We command that the ground be dug up',

[1] Cf. Awgerean, *Liakatar vark'* . . . *srboç*, vii, pp. 5–21; Bayan, 'Synaxaire', *PO* tome v, p. 501.

said the king. 'Perhaps, owing to the large number of graves, we shall be unable to discover the most holy grave of the saint. But we must put our trust in fasts and prayers and beseech All-merciful God with many supplications, remembering the word of the Lord to the effect that a good request is straightway accepted by bountiful God [1 John v. 15].'

Chapter 21. *The letter of King Vaṭagan to all the bishops and priests, asking that he might be granted the hidden treasure through their prayers and supplications*

THE king ordered letters to be sent to all the regions under his authority, to the bishops, priests, monks, and all the clergy of the Church, requesting them to worship and fast and pray to God, lover of mankind, that He might grant them the relics of the blessed Grigoris. Consequently all the bishops [assembled] the priests and deacons and all the clergy of the Church in their respective dioceses, and bearing the Lord's Cross, gathered together with one accord and in great haste in the king's village called Diwtakan. Severe punishment was meted out to late-comers. For three days they celebrated grandiose memorial services to the saints in the course of which it was the king's custom to stand up and worship the entire body of the Church assembled there. And he found the all-holy relics of Gregory and the greatly renowned Hṙip'simē and Gayanē which the priest named Matt'ē had brought from Yovhann,[1] patriarch of Armenia, who had sealed them with his ring, in the village of Darahoǰ in the province of Arcax. Sending priests thither, he had them brought to him. When the great Gregory and his crowned fellow warriors Hṙip'simē and Gayanē arrived at the great assembly of Diwtakan, the king and queen and all the great nobles advanced a great distance out of the village to meet them. All the bishops and their dioceses and many ministers, row upon row and group after group, came to meet them also. Each group carried revered relics of the saints together with the gospel; many crosses and divers emblems gleamed, and the pungent perfumed smoke of incense rose from each rank; the sweet sound of psalms and sacred song was heard in continuous praise of God, the giver of that great gift. Thus did the king and his people greet the saints

[1] BM add. *Mandakuni.*

amid great rejoicing, and the king himself ministered to the priest who bore the relics with great solicitude, and he brought them to the chapel of the saints and placed them with the blessed Zacharias and Pantaleon. The righteous king put his trust in the prayers deriving from his firm faith and in the entreaties of the virtuous assembly, and he said: 'I know for sure that God will, by the intercession of the great Gregory, give me the most holy relics of St. Grigoris.'

Hereupon the king assumed leadership of the entire most holy assembly and commanded the bishops to follow him with the priests and deacons and monks and all the clergy of the Church and their assistants, each in his respective group with gospel and cross and with many censers of burning incense. He himself walked with the priests of the royal court and many servants, and though he had intended to leave the queen behind—for it was spring and abundant torrents of rain oppressed the earth—she would not agree to this, but possessed of a deep desire, went also in search of the saints. They took the five holy martyrs of Christ, namely, the great Gregory, the blessed Zacharias, the most holy Pantaleon, and the greatly renowned victorious warriors Hṙip'simē and Gayanē, to intercede with great and omnipresent God that through them they might be granted their wish.

They wrapped the relics of the saints in divers royal robes together with much incense and various sweet-smelling flowers and placed them in the litter of the saints lined with red leather and adorned with white linen on top; on top of the litter was fixed a cross of gold set with precious stones; there were white horses with tails dyed red, and the heads[1] of the king's horses were adorned with crowns.[2] A host of servants of the royal court walked in front of and behind the litter, cross in hand, worshipping God unceasingly night and day with sweet-voiced praise. The king himself walked around the litter and joined in the psalms of praise. The groups of bishops and the large congregation walked at the four corners of the litter of the saints, singing psalms and blessing the only-begotten God and asking for that which they all desired, the holy relics of St. Grigoris. King Vaṭagan and the bishops forbade any to eat until evening, and in the evening each was to fortify

[1] *zpurs* &c. See above, p. 36, n. 2.

[2] After 'precious stones' BM reads 'and all the other ornaments that we have described above', i.e. at i. 19.

himself with a little bread only. The king himself complied with this up to the discovery of the saints. The priests of the royal court fasted zealously and prayed to beneficent God, while others ate nothing at all until the saints' relics were discovered. The entire congregation prayed ceaselessly night and day, entreating God with loud prayers, asking for Grigoris whom they all desired. King Vačagan summoned a meeting, and for a long time they all prayed for the relics of the blessed Grigoris.

During these days the king sent Matt'ē priest of Darahoǰ[1] and some servants to Suhaṙ[2] to hold a service and celebrate a Mass in the name of the saints who had been discovered there. In the morning during the service Matt'ē fell asleep, and a loud voice was heard to say: 'If you seek St. Grigoris, look to the east of the church.' They searched there, but in digging up the presumed site of the tomb, they made a mistake and dug to the north. When they found nothing, a great melancholy seized everyone, but by the mercy of God they subsequently dug to the east and discovered the saint's relics in accordance with the voice.[3] Then the king set out from Diwtakan with a large number of the assembly and the bishops and priests and all the servitors and, as has already been said, the entire congregation fasted and prayed and besought God, who loves mankind. When they came to a village called Araǯank',[4] a deacon from the royal court called Yovēl saw in a vision before daybreak that he would later bear a spade upon his shoulder and search for the relics of the blessed Grigoris. Grigoris himself appeared to him in a white robe in the shape of a monk and asked the deacon what he sought. He answered: 'The king and all the ministers and the entire Albanian army are looking for Grigoris, but we have been unable to find him.' The blessed one took the deacon by the hand and led him to the place where the relics of the saint lay and said: 'If you seek Grigoris, he is here.' And he ordered him to dig in that place. Close to the grave there was a little hillock surmounted by a cross. The saint climbed this and stood near the cross, while a priest named Nat'an, the deacon's brother, and another priest called Gedēon,[5] dug there. And Yovēl fell upon his

[1] BM, P4 *Darahoču*; P1, 5, D1, S *Daranahu*; S 2 var. *Darahan*; E *Darahalu*; D2 *Darahała*. See above, p. 38. [2] E, S; BM *Sohaṙ*; see above, p. 5, n. 4.
[3] E reads thus; S 'when they had dug up the site of the tomb, they dug to the north by mistake and found the most holy relics of the blessed man in accordance with the voice'. [4] P1, 5, S, E; P4; BM *Aržans*; D2 *Arak'ans*.
[5] P4, BM, S 1 var.; P5 *Gedewun*; S *Gedṙun*; E *Getewon*; P1. *Geṙon*.

knees and held a sack before him. They found the relics and departed in exultation, but Grigoris called after them and said: 'My ribs and breast-bone are still here; take them with you.' And we (*sic*) found the relics he mentioned. When he awoke, he related his vision to the king, and although he had never been to Amaras, he declared that he would nevertheless recognize the place the saint had designated. The king was filled with joy and prior to his own departure dispatched to Amaras Manasē his chaplain and the deacon, and the latter pointed to the very place where the saint's relics lay. The relics of the saints and the king and the whole congregation set out from Aṙažank' and arrived at the smaller village of K'aruēč where a morning service was performed. In this place also Yovēl saw a vision in which four older monks and Grigoris, who was the youngest, stood round the place in which he had been commanded to dig. The deacon fell on his face in terror, but when he rose and made to question them, they disappeared. When the morning service commenced that day, the pious king prayed unceasingly to God for the discovery of the relics of St. Grigoris, and crossing himself with the sign of the cross of the Lord, he besought bountiful God earnestly from the depths of his heart. As he sat at evening service, a light sleep stole upon the king, and a voice said: 'That for which you pray is here revealed to you.' And in his vision he heard the voice say: 'I shall go to Amaras and there appear to a certain man.' And the king immediately sent his court priest Manasē to precede him to Amaras, commanding him to reveal his vision to no one. And he asked if any other had seen anything, and a certain monk, a priest also called Yovēl, who was with the king, said: 'I saw a spring gush from a pure source in the very place in which the deacon Yovēl was commanded to dig; and I was astonished, for there was no spring there before. Whence did it come?' And when they had set out from K'aruēč, women came to meet them from the comopolis of Amaras. As has already been said, it was the spring season, and torrents of rain fell unceasingly on the earth and the numerous horses churned up the road with their hoofs. The king commanded that there was to be no delay, however, and in his zeal for that which he so much desired, he dismounted from his horse and went round the ranks of bishops and priests and drew them up so as to make the going easier and [to encourage] the praise of the redeeming Trinity with sweet voices and melodious psalms. And the king went and ministered in person

to the litter of the martyrs in Christ with great solicitude. The earth echoed loudly to the many sounds of worship on many different tongues, and it was as though it were covered in a luminous cloud of crosses, multi-coloured shapes adorned with fringes and flags, and shining gold and silver and precious stones set in a host of crosses. The litter of the saints, bedecked in white, drawn by a white horse and bearing a golden, jewelled cross and the priceless, beflagged crown on the cross[1] which shone like a star, proceeded in glory and splendour in the midst of the Christian army. When the holy and pious assembly entered the village, a small river was observed to flow through the settlement, and a bridge had been built over it on the royal route. The king, on account of the great love he bore for the saints, would not allow the litter of the saints to be entrusted to another, but covering them with his royal robes, he crossed the river with them. Coming to the place designated, the king and the bishops and the entire assembly knelt for a long time in prayer. The royal tent was erected over the place and he commanded a watch to be made until morning. At that time there was no bishop in Amaras, and they asked the abbot of the monastery there and other elders whether they had witnessed anything or not.

Chapter 22. *The blessed hermit Yob converts the large canton of Parskank'*[2] *in Arcax*

THE abbot of the monastery said as follows:

'There lived in the world in virtue and glory a priest of Vekert, a hermit called Yob, who enjoyed apostolic gifts, for he converted from their error a large area of Arcax called Parskank', teaching them to know God and to worship the ineffable mystery of the Holy Trinity. He came many times and honoured the memory of St. Grigoris, and said on two or three occasions that a Christian king would arise in the land of Albania who would seek the site of the holy relics of Grigoris.

'On another occasion, a hermit visited us as a guest and we welcomed him according to the custom of us brothers. We washed his feet, gave him a little to eat, and he went and fell asleep on that

[1] BM again abbreviates: 'The litter, in the same form [as before]. . . .'

[2] PS, E, S 1 var. *Parskanç*; S *Parckanç*; P4, BM *Pazkanç*; P1, D1, S 1 var. *Parskastanaç*; S 1 var. *Parsakans*. See Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen*, p. 349, for the various names of this canton.

very place. Waking suddenly, he took his cross and erected it there, and thus commanded us, saying: "Let no one remove this cross from this place, but rather erect a larger one and say morning and evening prayers before it and burn incense, for I foresee great miracles in this place."

'And yet another monk came as a guest, and we ordered that he be given a meal. Whilst he ate the bread and a boy served him wine in a goblet, a disturbance arose in the village, and leaving the guest by himself, we went out to whence the noise came. The guest rose, took the goblet and left, and subsequently selling it and keeping the money, he entered the school and boarded as a student. Then the thief of the goblet saw a vision in which a bishop clad in white and of awe-inspiring appearance sat on a throne near the cross which the hermit had erected; and the bishop bound him naked and ordered him to be tortured over the holy tomb. When he rose, he showed his body, which was black and blue from the infliction of terrible punishment, to many people. Day after day the bishop ordered him to be tortured, and he took refuge in the holy city of Jerusalem, praying for relief from his torment. But again in this place he saw the same bishop, who again ordered him to be cruelly beaten, saying: "There shall be no relief from these torments until you make your confession in the very place from which you stole the goblet." The monk arose, took the price of the goblet, left Jerusalem and came to Amaras. Entering the church and summoning the abbot, he confessed all and wept, and beseeching forgiveness, returned the price of the goblet. And he pointed out the place where the cross stood. "There the bishop sat", he said, "in shining raiments and of terrifying appearance." And he showed the site of the tomb, and said: "This is where he ordered me to be beaten." And receiving relief from his torments, he went his way in peace. And many people of this village who were childless, so they say, came here on a pilgrimage, took some earth, and afterwards had children. All who suffered from fever took the earth and were straightway cured.'

And while all these miracles were being related to the king . . .

Chapter 23. *A vision appears to Xočkorik, the illegitimate son of Esualēn, king of Albania, who had been appointed governor (kołmnapah), in the same assembly, and he relates it to the king*

. . . the man called Xočkorik, to whom the blessed Zacharias and the holy Pantaleon appeared in Ċŕi, fell asleep at midday, and in a vision saw seven men[1] in the church, all clad in beautiful white robes. The man addressed these monks, and said: 'Why do you not reveal to us the site of the relics of St. Grigoris, for they are said by some to be here, and we are troubled and sad?' And they all answered, and said: 'Did you ever witness a miracle?' He said he had not, and one of the seven walked before him and said: 'Follow me, and I shall show you the place you mention.' And he led him to the place indicated above. 'And I saw' [he said] 'the earth open and a torch shine through the crack; and the flame divided into two and perfumed the air.' And he said to the monk who had shown him this miracle: 'I shall go to tell the king of the sign you have shown to me.' And the monk replied: 'Go and tell him.' The man went to the court, and it chanced that the king was asleep, and he dared not wake him, and he returned to the monk, and told him this. The earth was still open when he returned, and the monk stood nearby. 'When the king awakes,' said the monk, 'tell him what you have seen.' And he made to cover up the crevice and extinguish the light, but Xočkorik prevented him by force, and said: 'Do not do that until the king has seen it also.' The monk would not agree to this, however, and kicking the place with his foot, he caused the crack to disappear. 'When the king wakes up,' he said, 'tell him what you have seen.' When the man awoke from his sleep, he went and related everything to the king, and the entire assembly prayed unceasingly to God, the giver of all good things. On the morrow, during the morning service, everyone assembled at the site of the wonderful cross, erected the king's tent over it, and placed a screen round the tent some distance away. Outside the screen stood the assembly of bishops and their disciples, the deacons holding a cross in their hands, the priests the gospel on their breasts, and the clerks censers containing divers incenses in their hands; and the earth echoed to the harmonious singing of psalms and hymns of praise to the ineffable Trinity.

[1] P4, BM *ē. ayr*; E *eōt'n ayr*; P1, 5, D1, 3, S *ert'ayr* 'he went'.

The virtuous king, stripping and taking spade in hand, began to dig manfully, while the virtuous and devout queen, going down into the pit in her royal robes, carried the earth away; the bishops and priests and the nobles and their wives, all dressed in their fine robes, carried the earth outside with great zeal. By mistake they dug to the north side,[1] and the relics of the blessed man remained to the east, and a great melancholy took possession of the king and the whole camp, and the unhappy king sat in great sorrow. Then, encouraged by his true faith, the king said: 'The word of the living God is infallible: to two or three gathered together in the name of the Saviour a request for a good thing is immediately granted [Matt. xviii. 20]. Such a multitude is now gathered together in the most holy name of the God of all men that I know for certain that he will heed us and not send us away in shame.' Then he commanded St. Zacharias and the most holy Pantaleon and the great and renowned Gregory and Hŕip'simē and Gayanē to be brought and placed before the excavation. And immediately a man took his spade, abandoned the first side and began to dig to the east. And the most holy tomb of the blessed man was discovered, and the king and all those within the tent were filled with joy.

The discovery of the saint's relics was announced to the whole assembly, and the crowd pressed towards the relics and were on the point of trampling down both screen and tent when the king came out and with some difficulty restrained them. When the tomb was opened and the relics came to light, a strange, sweet fragrance issued forth, enveloped all with the scent of many incenses and bemused them for several hours. The king and all who were with him were much amazed, and together they glorified the giver of such awe-inspiring, goodly things. The king sat on the earth near the tomb and ordered divers precious court vessels to be brought thither, and he placed the casket on his knees and worshipped in great awe. The priests brought the relics and placed them all in the casket which the king held on his knees. They also discovered two glass bottles with the relics of the saint, in one of which was the blood of Zacharias, and in the other, relics of St. Pantaleon; removing them all, the assembly worshipped them until evening when, sealing them with the royal seal, the king ordered them to be guarded carefully until morning. They found also a glass drinking-

[1] P4, BM *sxalēin i kołmn hiwsisoy*; P1, 5, D1, 3, S, E, *sxaleal aŕ kołmambn* 'by mistake (they dug) beside it'.

vessel belonging to Grigoris himself, and the king took it and greatly rejoiced over the great gifts which Almighty God had given him.

The next day the king ordered his cloak to be spread on the ground and golden dishes[1] and sweet wine to be fetched; he commanded the relics to be washed therein and laid on his cloak in the sun. A monk of the monastery of Amaras stole a piece of the relics and went away, whereupon Grigoris appeared in a vision amid great glory to another man, informing him of the name of the monk and his theft. At the king's command, he confessed and returned the stolen relic in his presence. A discontented man from among the stone-carriers began to blaspheme against Grigoris, martyr in Christ, saying: 'We have chosen the antichrist in this Grigoris!' Divine chastisement immediately fell upon him and knocked him to the ground, and his head was turned back to front. Thus he remained for several days until he went and took earth from the site of the saint's tomb; he shed many tears, and was cured, and his sins forgiven. A great terror seized the workmen and foremen, and in fear and haste they continued the work of building the holy church.

The king ordered each of the bishops to be given part of the relics to share out among their dioceses, and the larger part was to be left in Amaras; the other parts he carefully stored in divers vessels sealed with the royal seal. He ordered a chapel to be constructed above the tomb, to be quickly completed and named the chapel of St. Grigoris. Then the king stood in vigil and worshipped the bishops and the whole assembly in great joy to the sound of the sweet singing of many psalms in praise of God. He rose from the camp and on the third night, when the fourth day was about to dawn, they celebrated the Lord's living and awful mystery in the course of the service. Then the whole camp moved off in the same order as before, in procession with the saints. And thus the worthy king Vaṭagan acquired the spiritual and transcendental booty which is the source of incorruptible and ineffable goodness; to no king before him, to none of his ancestors had such wonderful gifts been given. The camp, assembled in Christ, received a share, acquiring indescribable riches from the mercies of God through King Vaṭagan, whom I do not consider less praiseworthy than the

[1] P4, BM *małazmays*; S *małzmays*; D1 *mołołayn*; P5, E, S 1 var. Patk. *mołołmays*, which Patkanean calls an unknown word; P1 *mołmołays*.

Emperor Constantine, emperor of the west, or the Arsacid Trdat who brought salvation to Greater Armenia. For us easterners, this blessed man became the door to the light of knowledge of God, the model of many virtues. He who had travelled far for this ceremony returned along the road which had been prepared for his coming, and his magnificence made the road appear as good or even better than it had been.

Moving off, the king went on foot, and the whole procession walked along with quiet, slow steps, flowing like a calm sea. The air exulted to harmonious sounds and glittering reflections. The angels themselves sang with them, and it was as if Earth had become very Heaven. The king, labouring untiringly, guided everyone across the river as he had done on the way thither, and he ordered the litter of the saints to be erected, and the king sat with the whole congregation. The bishops blessed the common people and ordered them to return home; the king led the ranks of bishops and priests and other honourable men and the saints to K'aruēč and a place to rest, where he thanked them all and said a prayer on behalf of those who had come at his command and aided him in his search. 'Eternal praise and glory to Christ,' he said, 'who by the intercession of the saints and by your prayers has granted you and me that which we longed for.' They all blessed the king and queen and all the court, saying: 'May all your requests of God be granted you through St. Grigoris, and may He grant us to live with you for many days in peace on earth and to make the church more glorious by our daily increasing zeal. May our Saviour Christ and His heavenly Father seal your death by your confession of Christ.'

The king took with him the senior chief bishop Šup'hałišoy, and whenever the litter of the saints arrived in a village, he would dismount and minister to the saints on foot until he had led them through the village, not as a king grown proud and idle in luxury, but as a man skilled and learned in Christianity, not as one imprisoned in the tomb of pleasure, but one who diligently and intelligently submits to the commandments of God. When all this had come to pass and the fame of St. Grigoris had spread throughout the province of Uti, men and women from whatever village the saints were about to enter came to meet them, and innumerable multitudes came in exultation from distant villages bearing crosses and many flowers and sweet incense, and ceaselessly glorified and

blessed the united Holy Trinity. In this way they reached the king's own village of Diwtakan, and there they laid the saints to rest and performed a great service of commemoration for them, and the king ordered the relics of the saints to be anointed with precious oil. The king had a daughter called Xnčik, a child whom he loved very much and in whose name he had built a country villa (*dastakert*);[1] to her he gave a piece of the relics of the saints, and a great memorial service was performed in this same mansion. He himself took a piece which he henceforth always carried on him, together with the relics of St. Zacharias, in the camp. Sealing up the remainder of the relics, he had them preserved with great care in a holy and noble chamber until such time as the chapel in Diwtakan in the name of Pantaleon was completed and the saint transferred thither and greatly honoured. He left the priests and deacons and numerous ministrants and himself commemorated the saints in that place twice a day for three days, and he was tireless in fasts and prayers and acts of charity towards the poor. He commanded those to whom he apportioned parts of the relics to celebrate commemoration services in honour of the saints, reminding those who might be remiss of the terrible Judgement of God, and those who were zealous of the ineffable gifts of His beneficence. Thus does God glorify His saints.

Chapter 24. *King Vačagan's question to the learned priest Matt'ē*

THE king asks 'whether souls, departed from the body, are sentient or insentient,[2] and how the living can help the dead'.

Answer: by calling on God in fasts and prayers or by other commemorations in their name. David, for example, when he put on the armour of Saul, began to stagger and stumble, but when he discarded the heavy armour, he was relieved and became himself again; in the same way souls, while still clad in the armour of the body, are weighed down, but when they put it off they become, as we have said, keen-sighted, intelligent, and more sensitive. We oppose those who have asserted that the soul becomes insentient after it has left the body by the testimony of holy writ, which says:

[1] See N. Pigulevskaya, *Goroda Irana v rannem srednevekov'e*, Moscow–Leningrad, 1956, pp. 202–6.

[2] *zgayun . . . t'ē anzgay.*

'Moses, my servant, had died and now Moses stands, not clothed in the body, but in wonderful glory before God'; therefore Peter asked the Lord for a dwelling there. If the soul of the Prophet were, as you say, insentient after it had left his body, how did it acquire sensibility and speak in such fair shape with the Son of God? 'I am the God of the living and not of the dead', He says [Matt. xxii. 32]. Is not a dead body insentient? it is therefore evident that an insentient soul is dead. Again: 'I shall defend your city for my own sake and for the sake of David my servant' [2 Kings xx. 6]. Tell me, what honour would it be for a soul with no feeling that his son become governor? On account of the living soul of the prophet, he granted him a favour in governing the city and saving it from the sword of the enemy. The apostle Paul says: 'I think it better to be absent from the body and present with Christ' [2 Cor. v. 8]. The same redeeming Word says to His Father: 'I want those whom you gave me to be with me and to behold my glory' [John xvii. 24]. Now, in accordance with what you assert, how can an unfeeling soul be with the Lord or behold His ineffable glory? Or how can the soul of the dead rich man see with keen eyes, far from the place of torment, Abraham and Lazarus, or know whence he was [Luke xvi. 23, 27]? The word of the Saviour, like a true parable, clearly shows that the soul, outside the body, becomes more keen-sighted and intelligent than it was inside the body; not only the souls of holy and righteous men, but those of sinners feel and are full of knowledge, just as the rich man became so sharp-eyed that he was able to recognize Abraham across the great gulf that lay between them. And true belief in the descent of God into Hell in order to redeem them teaches us that souls released from the body are certainly sentient and more wise. Those who commemorate the saints honour them with gifts and pray to their souls and through them beseech mercy from munificent God. And truly the souls of the saints are able to intercede and God straightway receives their prayers and grants the remission of sins.

Chapter 25. *A letter from the blessed Abraham, bishop of the Mamikoneans, to Vačagan, king of Albania, concerning the dead*

CONSIDER, beloved one, that whether I speak in wisdom or

ignorance about the souls of the dead, there is none so ignorant [in such matters] as those who are not yet dead. God, however, is the receiver of our offerings and the keeper of covenants, and He alleviates the sins of the souls of those who died in hope. The Holy Book teaches us how Elisha, not hearing of the death of a child but hearkening to the entreaties of its mother, resuscitated the child and returned it to its mother; and the Lord our God, taking mercy upon the widow, raised her only child [2 Kings iv. 34]; and the apostles, heeding the tears and groans of the widows, raised up Tabitha and gave her back to them [Acts ix. 40]. Now, if the prayers of relations can bring one back to life from death, then the power of God is very great; therefore let us who, living, ask for remission of their sins through God's forgiveness, trust that they who die in hope shall receive remission of their sins.

Chapter 26. *The canons of Vaṭagan, king of Albania, promulgated in the council held in Aluēn*

In the reign of Vaṭagan, king of Albania, a great dispute arose among the laymen and the bishops and priests, chorepiscopi, nobles, and commoners, and the king decided to convoke a large council at Aluēn on the thirteenth day of the month of Mareri.[1]

I, Vaṭagan, king of Albania, and Šup'hališoy, archbishop of Partaw, Manasē, bishop of Kapałay, Yunan, bishop of Hašu,[2] Anania and Sahak, chorepiscopi of Uti (?),[3] Yovsep', priest of Kałankatuk', Mat'ē, priest of Partaw, T'omay, priest of the royal court, Pōłos, priest of Gegač,[4] Šmawon, chorepiscopus of Ċŕi, Mat'ē, priest of Darahoč, Abikaz, priest of Bed,[5] Urbat', priest of Ayrmanušay,[6] Yovel and Parmidē[7] and Yakob, priests, and the

[1] The Council of Aluēn took place some time after Vaṭagan's recognition as king of Albania by Balaš (484–8); see above, p. 26, n. 2. During the period A.D. 484/5–487/8, when 1 Nawasard occurred on 28 July, 13 Mareri was 26 January.

[2] P5, S, E *Hašuay*; BM *Hašēoy*; Julfa 131 (denoted below as J) *Hrošoy*.

[3] S *Anania ew Sahak, Ewutoy k'orepiskoposk'*; P1 . . . *ew utay* . . .; P5, E . . . *ew utoy* . . . ; BM *Anania, ew Sahak, ew Utup'or episkoposk'*; J . . . *ewotup'd*. . . . I have read this phrase as **Anania ew Sahak Utioy k'orepiskoposk'*.

[4] P5, S, E *Gegačay*; BM *Gayēgoču*; J *Gayeguču*; P1 *Gelcoy*.

[5] P1, 5, D3, S *Abikaz Beday erēç*; E . . . *Bet'ay* . . .; BM *Abaik Azbedu erēç*; J *Abayi, Sazbeday erēç*.

[6] P5 *Urbat'ayr manušaç erēç*; P1 *Urbat' ayr manušay erēç*; BM, J *Urbat'ayr Manušēiç ereç*; E *Urbat' Ayrmanušaç*; S *Urbat' Prmanušaç*. Whatever its true form, the locality seems otherwise unknown.

[7] D1, 3, P5, S *Parmidē*; BM *Barmidē*; J *Parp, Migē*; E *Parp ew Mik'ē*.

nobles and heads of clans (*azgapetk'*) of Arçax, Bakur, head of clan of Kałankatuk', and many others who assembled before me in my summer-residence at Aluēn, ordained thus:

1. Village priests are to pay homage to their bishop twice[1] a year and are to learn the spiritual rules from him; and in accordance with the rule, they shall bring him a yearly gift.

2. When they are ordained, a priest must give four *drams* and a deacon two.

3.[2] A noble[3] and a member of the royal family shall in the course of his life give with his own hand for his soul[4] a horse, saddled and harnessed, and whatever else he can afford. If he should not give this in his lifetime, his family shall give it after his death.

4. This shall be the rule concerning the fruits [of the earth to be given] to the priest by the people. He who is rich[5] shall give 4 bushels (*griw*) of wheat, 6 of barley,[6] and 16 jugs of sweet [wine]; the poor man shall give half a loaf of bread and as much wine as he can; and nothing shall be taken from him who possesses no field or vineyard. Those who for the sake of their soul give in excess of this do well; as Paul says, 'he who sows abundantly, shall reap abundantly' [Gal. vi. 7]. He who has sheep in his household shall give one sheep, three fleeces and one cheese; ⟨he who has horses, one foal; and he who has cattle,[7] one calf⟩.[8]

5. A noble or villager or other layman shall not omit to give one offering per annum in commemoration of the dead, as much as he can afford; one shall not deprive the dead of a share of their gain. If the dead man had horses, one shall give to the church one horse which he would desire; if he had cattle, one ox which he would desire.

6. Should an abbot or any monk misbehave[9] in the monastery and

[1] P1, 5, BM, J, E, S 2 var. *erkiç*; S *eriç* 'thrice'.

[2] So BM, Q, J, E; P1, 5, D3, S give the $\overline{q}$ *g* = 3 as part of the text of the canons, which Patkanean translates (p. 66) as '4 drachms to the priest, 2 to the deacon, 3 to the freeman'.

[3] *azat mard*, lit. 'free man'.

[4] *or inč hogwoyn masn ē*, lit. 'whatever is part of *or* for his soul', i.e. 'soul-scot'; see above, i, 18, p. 31, n. 3.

[5] *t'uanikn*; BM add. *or ē harustn* 'which is the rich man'.

[6] BM omits this, reading in its place *griwn 100 istiln ē* 'the *griw* is 100 *istil*'.

[7] *paxrēk'* 'cattle, money'; Iranian loan-word, cf. Soghdian *prxyy* 'reward' (I. Gershevitch, *Grammar of Manichaean Soghdian*, Oxford, 1954, p. 144).

[8] J, E; P5, D1, BM, S *om.*

[9] E *gayt'ank' aṙnē*; J *gayt'ak ok' aṙnē*; BM, Q *kaytak' aṙnē*; P1, 5, S *kaytak ok' aṙnē*; S 2 var. *xaytak* . . .; D3, S 1 var. *katak ok' aṙnē* 'if any should desport himself'.

be discovered, he shall be reviled and expelled and his property[1] confiscated by the church.

7. If the fathers in one monastery be many and their congregation small, and the congregation of another monastery be large and the fathers few in number, some of [the offerings of] the large congregation are to be taken and given to the monastery in which the fathers are many.

8. Any Christian who quarrels and sheds blood is to be brought before the bishop and punished in accordance with the laws.

9. A priest who ministers to a large village shall not minister to another. Should two small hamlets be close to one another, one priest may minister to them. A priest may be a shepherd for as many as he is able to lead.

10. A man may not marry a woman related to him in the third degree;[2] he may not marry his brother's wife.

11. He who abandons his wife without cause, or lives with a woman outside wedlock, or is lawless or a murderer or one who consults wizards, is to be bound, brought to the royal court, and put to a cruel death.

12. Of those who mourn for the dead, let the head of the household and the *gusans*[3] be bound, brought to the royal court, and punished; and let not their families dare to lament afterwards.

13. The priest and the congregation are to punish him who eats carrion or eats meat during Lent or works on Sundays and does not go to church.

14. He who eats meat on the Wednesday and Friday before Lent is to fast for one week; and should someone go to the priest and declare that the man is not complying with this, the elder of the village is to seize an ox belonging to the man and give it to the priest.

[1] *z-xostak-n*; *NBHL* gives the meaning *manuk, tłay* 'child', but see *HAG*, p. 161, (= NP خواسته).

[2] *zerrord azgi kin*, i.e. a grandchild of his own grandfather, his *t'oṙnakiç*. A case of such a marriage, incurring excommunication, occurred during the patriarchate of Mik'ayēl (706–41); see below, iii. 13.

[3] See M. Boyce, 'The Parthian gōsān and Iranian minstrel tradition', *JRAS*, 1957, pp. 14–15; to the passages quoted there one might add the laws of Mxit'ar Goš and Smbat the Constable banning the songs of *gusans* attached to the suites of princes sheltering in monasteries (J. Karst, *Sempadscher Kodex*, Strassburg, 1905, pp. 66–67); cf. also the disapproving attitude towards 'devilish games' and 'heathen and shameful conversation' at weddings on the part of Dawit' Alvkay ordi (*Xratk' kanonakank'*, ch. 23, ed. A. Abrahamean, *Etchmiadzin*, 1952, xi–xii, p. 59).

15. Should a layman accuse a priest or a deacon and they confess to the charge, the bishop is to judge them, and they shall repent in solitude. Should they not confess, however, and that which the others say against them is manifestly true, they are to be punished in accordance with the canons and driven from the village. If the crime be not evident, the priest is to be commanded to celebrate a Mass, which shall be taken as his oath.

16. Should a priest be accused of a crime by his fellows and pupils and they themselves be trustworthy, the priest is to stand before the altar and his accusers before the congregation, and he shall be taken from the sanctuary and driven from the village. Should his pupils bear a grudge against him and it be known to the congregation that they have quarrelled, the priest is to celebrate a Mass and the congregation is to drive the others out and curse them. If they confess and say 'We have spoken falsely', they are to be made to repent and are not to be driven from the monastery. Should they hereafter cause any mischief, however, they are to be punished in accordance with the canons.

17. Further, the bishops and priests complained to the king about nobles who, they said, built two or three churches or monasteries in one village, and the nobles made an agreement before the king; it was considered fitting by the king, the bishops, and the nobles that the churches which had been built should remain, and that the produce and income of these should be given to the Vsam church.[1]

18. And the nobles who pay tithes are to give half to the principal (*bun*) church and half to their own church.

19. On Sundays both master and servant are to go to the Vsam church to pray and offer memorial services in the church. A stranger must pay soul-scot to the church.

20. Nobles, in so far as concerns their estates, are not to presume to dismiss or appoint a priest without the bishop's consent; the bishop, however, may dismiss and appoint priests without consulting them. Should a priest be threatened by the nobles or the congregation, he is not to leave without the bishop's consent.

[1] BM, J, E *i vsam ekełeçin*; P5, D2, S *vsam ekełeçwoyn*. Patkanean translates 'to the Vsam or principal church' (taking *vsam* as *vsem* 'high, eminent'). Readings like P1 ⟨illegible⟩ (*vs. am.* = *vasn ameneçun*) *ekełeçwoçn*, D1 *vasn am. ekełeçwoçn* suggest 'for all churches' or 'to the churches for all' but a construction **i vasn ameneçun ekełeçwoçn* for 'to the church for all' is not possible.

21. If a noble constructs an altar in his church or places relics therein or makes an offering, he shall do it as far as possible with the permission of the bishop.

He who obeys these canons shall be blessed, and whoever does not shall be expelled from the Church and shall pay a fine to the bishop proportionate to his resources; after he has paid the amount of the fines as prescribed by the canons, he shall be blessed.

This agreement was made by the bishops and priests and nobles in the presence of the king. May the king and queen and their son be blessed by the bishops and priests and church, and may all the participants in this council be blessed. These ordinances were signed by Mucik, the king's chancellor (*hramanatar*),[1] Mirharik, steward (*hazarapet*),[1] the heads of clans (*azgapetk'*) Maruť,[2] Tirazd,[3] Sprakos,[4] Łama,[5] Bakur, Ṙatan, Aršēs,[6] Vardan the Brave, lord of Gardman, Xurs, Bermusan,[7] Xoskēn, P'iwrog,[8] patriarch (*nahapet*), and all the nobles of Albania. As confirmation of this writ the seal of Vaṭagan, king of Albania, was affixed.

Chapter 27. *A narrative account*[9] *of St. Mesrob and his companions*[10]

AFTER the martyrdom of Grigoris, catholicos of Albania, the barbarous people of the eastern regions fell once more into heathen idolatry, and making many vows to the fire temples, brought persecution upon the Christians. One of the first vardapets, who by the grace of the Holy Spirit invented letters for three peoples, namely, the Armenians, Albanians, and Georgians, subsequently went to Jerusalem on a pilgrimage, and returning thence with his disciples and the silver cross plated with gold in which was a piece of the Cross of Christ, he passed through Armenia into the eastern regions to the province of Uti; and he dwelt among marshy places and moss-covered swamps in the place called Gis. He revived the

[1] On these terms see Adontz, *Armeniya v epokhu Yustiniana*, pp. 445–6.
[2] P5, BM, J, E; P1, D1, S *Marui*; S 1 var. *Maruk'*.
[3] P1, D1, BM, Q, S; P5, D2 *Tirazt*; J, E *Tirazg*.
[4] P1, D1, BM, Q; J, E *Asprakos*; S *Sparakos*.
[5] P1, D3, S; P5 *Łams*; BM *Šama*, J, E *Šamay*.
[6] P1, 5, S, E; BM *Arjēs*; J *Oṭēs*.
[7] P1, 5, D1, 3, BM, S; J, E *Germanosan*.
[8] P1, 5, D3, S; BM. J, E *P'irog*.
[9] *patmut'iwn vipasanabar*.
[10] See Awgerean, *Liakatar . . . vark' . . . srboç*, v, pp. 281–30; Bayan, *PO*, tome vi, pp. 243–6 (8 Hori, 17 September).

Church and strengthened the Faith and spread the teaching of the gospel to the land of the Utiaṭik', the Albanians, the Lp'ink', the Kaspk', up to the Ṭołay Pass, and to other foreign tribes whom Alexander of Macedon had captured and settled around the great Mount Caucasus, namely, the Gargark' and the Kamičik Hep'-t'alk (Hephthalites); he reconverted them to the Christian faith and taught them the form of worship which they had learned long ago and had now forgotten. A perfect preacher and apostle to the barbarous mountain tribes, he taught them to write in their own language. Thence he returned and dwelt in the marshes, hiding from the menace of the cruel princes. Hidden there, he daily added to the strength of the Church of God. Then the spirit of error incited the minds of the bestial tyrants, and in their fury they strove to kill him; but the blessed Maštoç, forewarned by the Holy Ghost, hastily dug a hole of appropriate size, and taking the divine treasure, the Cross of the Lord, he placed it in a box and concealed it in the hole in the ground. Afterwards, his true and faithful disciples, unanimously putting their trust in prayer, agreed to divide into two groups; the first intended to go up into the provinces, while the other, traversing many lands, went to preach the faith. Those who remained at the site of the cross received the martyr's crown within a few days, and at the scene of their martyrdom brilliant signs and wonderful miracles occurred. These were seen on many occasions by the unbelievers who, learning that these miracles were of God, believed with one accord and were baptized in the faith. One of the newly converted, who had often seen this sign over the place where the cross was buried, built a square chapel there, and making a shrine of wooden planks, transferred their relics thither and took an oath to commemorate them yearly. Many were healed in this place, so that those who believed were confirmed in their faith, and first laying the foundations there, they built a church of God over the site of the Cross which they afterwards named the Old Church of the place called Gis. A long time afterwards, a noble prince called Varaz-P'erož of the Aṙanšahik family intended to renovate the Old Church, but was unable to demolish the brick top of the dome,[1] for inside this dwelt the Lord's Cross and the relics of the martyrs.

[1] P1, 5, S, E *poyr gmbet'in*; P4, BM *burgn berdin* 'the tower of the fortress'. S glosses *poyr* as *katar* 'summit, top'. Patkanean translates it as *svod* 'arch, vault'. Ačaṙean compares the word with St. Orb.'s *bolorapoyr* and equates it with

Chapter 28. *Below, an account of the disciples of Maštoç*

A SHORT time after the death of St. Maštoç, his disciples in the provinces of Albania gathered together at the instigation of the Holy Spirit and were eager to do good works. 'What are we to do,' they asked, 'for he who enlightened us rests in Christ, and we remain behind as orphans? Let us go to Jerusalem, the city of God, and ask for a leader, for the true illumination of the lands of the East began in Jerusalem with St. Eliseus.' They made their preparations and equipped themselves and divided into three groups. Leaving the regions of Albania, they made for the borders of Asorestan and arrived one after the other in Jerusalem. Entering the house of God, they worshipped the redeeming Tree of Life for a long time. They met the joyous and godly patriarch and greeted the clergy of the church with a humble embrace and were well received by them. They told the holy patriarch in detail of the joyous zeal of Maštoç, and by what manner of miracles performed among them the barbarians were reformed. Hearing this, they received them with great joy and honoured them with great solicitude for many days, and attached to them three men, pious priests, whose leader was Athanasius. They begged them humbly to accompany them that they might be given leading places in their country. Having fulfilled their vows, they joyously kissed the feet of the holy patriarch, and at his command they were accompanied thence with gold and silver ornaments and many relics of all the saints of the Lord, and taking their leave with heartfelt gladness, they went their way accompanied by the three priests. During the holy fast of forty days, on the seventh Sunday of Easter, they arrived in the canton of Mec Kueank' in the deep-valleyed province of Arçax. The group divided into two at the crossroads: the first assembled in a place called Asteł Blur (Star Hill) in the north, while the second settled beyond the river Trtu in the south, in a wooded valley in the forest called Člax, for they had promised to celebrate Easter in that place.

Chapter 29. *The invasion of Albania, Armenia, and Georgia by the Northerners, and the martyrdom of Mesrob's disciples*

AT that time the king of Ŗosmosok' (Meshech) together with his

the *pur* of i. 19, 21 (see above, p. 36, n. 2; *Nor bařer*, 1913, pp. 31–33). Cf. the diminutive *purak* at ii. 33, p. 139.

army and the Tubal regiment assembled all the forces of the Honk', crossed to this side of the River Kur, spread into the province of Uti, and encamped near the town of Xałxał. Choosing three strong men, he appointed them leaders of the great force and entrusted the whole of the eleven armies to them. He commanded them to divide into three groups and to attack the lands of Albania, Armenia, and Georgia. The third group of the army reached the province of Arçax at the beginning of Easter and fell upon Mec Kueank'. Learning of this attack, the Člax group from Jerusalem were greatly afraid, and hastily gathering all the relics together, they placed them in two silver caskets and hid them in the ground. Immediately afterwards, death-bringing pandemonium, mingled with cries of lamentation and spreading hopeless despair, descended like a torrent of rain; it advanced like the waves of the sea, and swiftly arrived at Asteł Blur, where all were taken unawares and mercilessly put to the sword. The gold and silver ornaments were plundered, and the holy relics scattered over the hill.[1] The invaders took the survivors prisoner and detained them there. [There was among these captives] a woman called T'aguhi, one of the local noblewomen of the province of Uti from the village of Bagink', an exceedingly rich woman who frequented the missionaries from Jerusalem. Seeing her among the prisoners, the general of the Honk' was inflamed with a diabolical and lascivious passion, for she was very beautiful. Deciding to take her to wife, he ordered her to be guarded carefully. His men completed the day's raids and heaped all the loot and booty together, while his brothers-in-arms slew many and drove others into captivity on Asteł Blur. Among these prisoners there were two priests, the companions of the martyr Athanasius. The general of the Honk' camped there that night with his army, and towards evening the general commanding the Tubal force ordered the blessed T'aguhi to be fetched that he might satiate his lewd desires upon her. Armed with the power of the Lord, however, she scorned him, resisted and mocked the filthy barbarian. 'God forbid', she said, 'that I should yield my chaste virginity to a son of a dog, a swinish heathen, or that I should for fear of torture be afraid to die and change this worthless life for one which passeth not away!' And raising her hands to God, she said: 'Lord of Lords, God of Gods, and King of Kings, do not

[1] P4, BM *ənd blurn vižeal*; P1, 5, S *ənd blurn vižan*; E *ənd blurn Vižan* 'over the hill Vižan'.

put me to shame who place my trust in Thee. Keep me pure and righteous in this present danger. As Thou gavest me rebirth in the font of light, that I might know Thee, so now make me free from sin in faith and holiness, and cause the light of Thy truth to shine into the hearts of these unfeeling barbarians, that they also may recognize Thee as the one true God.' When the lawless mob heard this they went and told their prince, for there was an interpreter among them who listened to her whole speech. The tyrant, filled with furious rage, flew into a passion in his snarling and growling bestiality, and commanded her to be killed amid terrible tortures if she would not come to him in honour and respect, and his servants went and urged her to submit to the will of their prince. When they were unable to persuade the unassailable T'aguhi, they bound her hands behind her back, dragged her by the hair, tore her face with cruel thorns from the thickets in the plains, and together lacerated the body of the saint; then they cut off her head. Her struggle was like that of St. Hṙip'simē, and the great T'aguhi was crowned with the divine and victorious crown of Christ. The same night, while the infidel prince and his forces enjoyed themselves with sleepless jollities and made merry, a wonderful sign suddenly appeared from the Lord. Everyone clearly observed a strong light to shine from the scene of St. T'aguhi's martyrdom. The tattered remains of her clothes, scattered over the tree tops of the forest, shone like stars, and for a long time the starry light shone above the holy martyrs. When they saw this, the people called the place Astɫ Blur ('Star Hill'), as it is known to this day. The prince was amazed by these miracles of good tidings, and in great fear he ordered the priests of God to be summoned before him. Learning from them the path of salvation, he believed in the living God and ordered the relics of the saints to be gathered together, wrapped in clean linen, and buried upon the hill. There they made an offering of sheep and goats and celebrated divine service with great ceremony in commemoration of their martyrs.

Chapter 30. *The great general of the Tubal army believes in Christ; his martyrdom, and that of his army, his children, and the clergy at the hands of his king in the land of Albania*

AFTER the light of truth had entered the heart of the godly prince Theophilus he ordered the prisoners to be released, and on Easter

morning he set out with his priests and many other believers and the Agiostratosean army,[1] arrived in the province of Uti, dismounted, and encamped near the quay of the pontoon bridge[2] on the banks of the river Kur. The great king of Rosmosock' returned with his armies after his raids with great droves of prisoners and immense booty, and crossing the Kur from the east, camped opposite them. In his idolatrous error, he ordered sacrifices to be made to his gods in sacred feasts. When the Christian Theophilus and the Agiostratosean army saw this, they offered gifts to God in accordance with the precepts of the Christian faith, and with the blessing of the holy priests they placed the sign of the cross upon their banners. When the bestial, lawless barbarian king saw this, he was possessed with demoniac frenzy and angrily commanded the holy general Theophilus to be brought before him with thirty men. At first he addressed them with soft words, and then in anger. 'You who are dear to our kingdom on account of your victories and valour', he said, 'have been greatly honoured by us; you, being of higher rank than all the others, were honoured with the leadership of one third of my army. Why, then, have you abandoned the noble gods of your race who gave us victory in our raids? Rebelling with your soldiers you worship a god of whom we know nothing, and if you will not make sacrifices to our gods, you and your soldiers will be punished and put to death.' The confessor of Christ, the brave general Theophilus, answered and said to the king: 'Knowledge of the condition of man is the source of virtue,[3] and virtue, with excellent works, is the mother of godliness. If, to enhance His glory, our nature was united with that of Christ by His birth [and received] the gift of light whereby to know and recognize God, creator of heaven and earth, one united Holy Trinity, who in His benevolence wishes to keep us free from the harm of worthless idols, how can you take this heavenly grace from us, or compare your passing glory with that of God, or hope by your threats to

[1] My emendation. P1, D1, 2, S, E *agistrosean gndiwn*; P4, 5, BM, Q, V1 *agistosean . . .*; V2 *agistoroean*; see also variants below, p. 60, esp. BM *agistratonean*. These forms must derive from Gk. **Ἁγιοστρατός* 'holy army'.

[2] *zomak'atak kamurǰin*: *zom* 'ford, bridge', *k'atak* 'form, likeness'; S, n. 94 explains it as *nawakamurj* 'pontoon bridge'.

[3] P4, 5, D3, BM *kenaç mardoy imastut'iwn cnund ē aṙak'inut'ean*; E *imastut'iwn kenaç mardoy cnund ē aṙak'inut'ean*; S *kenaç mardoy imastut'ean cnund ē aṙak'inut'iwn* 'virtue is the source of knowledge of the life of Man'; P1, D1 *kenaç mardoy cnund ē imasti aṙak'inut'ean*.

frighten us into choosing this temporal life, to make us abandon God and worship dumb objects?'

The king roared in indignation and great wrath and ordered the holy general Theophilus and his companions and the two priests to be put to a painful death. Confessing the faith on the field of martyrdom, they valiantly fought their heroic battle and received from Christ the victor's crown. Thus were the holy confessor and the thirty soldiers translated to their heavenly abode. When the blessed Moses and Anerologēs, the sons of the sainted general Theophilus, together with the Agiostratosean force and other believers, saw this, they urged on their horses and fled before the lawless king, holding it better to be persecuted for Christ's sake than to live a guilty life of impiety. They considered disgrace for the sake of Christ more important than the great treasures of their fathers. They fled south and came to a very high peak of a great mountain which overlooks the numerous provinces of the country. Band after band was dispatched at the command of the merciless king, and the forces of the Honk' pursued and overtook them on the summit of the mountain, where they attempted with many entreaties to reconvert them to idol-worship and obedience to the king. When they were unable to persuade them, they put them to the sword. Thus Moses ended his life with his blessed brother and all the godly Agiostratosean[1] force, receiving from Christ the martyr's crown, shining in splendid radiance from the tops of the northern mountains, and entering the immortal abode with all the saints.

[1] S *agistrosean*; P1 *agistosean*; P4 *agistratunean*; BM *agistratonean*; P5, D3 *agistatronean*; E *agistratean*.

BOOK TWO

Chapter 1. *The history according to my books*[1]

As the heavens are bright with stars and the earth with flowers, so are the works of the historian adorned by divers events. There are tales of the lands of the east which we have considered fitting to be incorporated in our composition which have found no place in the books of ancient historians. We recall in this connexion how Šapuh, son of Ormizd, king of Persia,[2] decided to investigate which races or peoples possessed rank and honour. He organized a magnificent banquet for all the great and ancient families[3] of the *naxarars* of Persia, and by goblet and vine-slip[4] he designated the various degrees of precedence which they enjoyed before him. The Mobad of Mobads was greatly honoured at the royal table, and deliberating with his nobles, the king said: 'I am well acquainted with the true Pahlavis among the Persians and Parthians and the order of precedence[5] of these nobles, but I have been unable to discover anything concerning the noble family of Armen and their order of precedence either from my royal ancestors or from books. You *naxarars* of Armenia are faced with a choice of two things: either you show me an ancient book giving the degree and rank of each house, whereupon you shall again receive from us your outstanding positions of honour, or, if you cannot bring this to the eyes of our Aryan assembly, we shall bestow your highly placed cushion,[6]

[1] *patmut'iwn i dēp groçs*, interpreted as above by Manandean, *Beiträge . . .*, p. 17; Patkanean understands it to mean 'the exposition of the contents of the book', but this is not supported by the nature of the contents of the chapter.

[2] Shapur II (309–79), son of Hormizd II; see FB iv. 16–v. 37, MX iii. 6–50. The source of the legend which follows is unknown; it is borrowed by St. Orb. i. 8. See N. Adontz, *Armeniya v epokhu Yustiniana*, S. Petersburg, 1908, pp. 273–7.

[3] S *amenayn mecamecaç hinameniç tohmiç* [*hinamean* is not in *NBHL* but is a theoretically possible alternative form of *hinameay* 'old in years, ancient']; P4, 5, BM, V1, 2 *amenayn mecamecaç, inn* (P5 *yinn*) *ameniç tohmiç* 'for all the nobles, all the nine families' (?); P1, E, S 1 var. . . . *yinnameniç*. . . . Adontz, op. cit. p. 273, n. 3, thinks *inn* to be a mistake for an original *yewt'* 'seven' which referred to 'the seven eminent Sassanian houses', but his explanation of how this mistake arose is unconvincing.

[4] *bažakaw ew uŕov*; cf. Ełišē, vi. 2: 'Do not forget the oil and crown and vine-slips (*zuŕsn*) and generous gifts given you by the court.'

[5] P1, 5, D1, 3, E *naxadrut'iwn*; P4, BM, V1, 2 *naxadasut'iwn*; S *naxararut'iwn*.

[6] *naxanist barj*.

honours, house, earth, and water and all your possessions upon Aryan noblemen.' The princes of greater Armenia deliberated among themselves and brought before the king the worthy *History of Agat'angełos*, which he commanded to be translated into the Persian language and script. When he learned that it commenced with Artašir, his own forefather, he rejoiced greatly, and moved to tears, he praised the book and held it before his eyes. Finding therein the figure of seventeen cushions, he began to rearrange accordingly the seats of evèryone at the royal table. Andok, lord of Siwnik',[1] received the fourteenth cushion, whereupon he haughtily declined to eat, and when admonished by the king on this account, paid no heed to him. Then news reached the court that the Khazars had emerged in large numbers through the gate of Čołay into our country, and Šapuh assembled a numberless army of men from Asorestan, Xorasan, Xorazm, and many other brave Persians from the province of Atrpatakan, and Armenians, Georgians, Albanians, and the twelve tribes of the wild peoples of Mount Caucasus, and with these countless forces he rose and marched against them. Andok, however, contriving evil for himself and his country, broke with the royal house in order to betray it with his army, and with 1,700 men and swift, mettlesome steeds he reached Ctesiphon and concealed his forces outside the city, which he entered with a small retinue. Dissembling [his true intentions], he asked many questions, saying that he had come to join Šapuh, and the inhabitants honoured him greatly. At daybreak, however, his army marched into the town and took much gold and silver treasure, precious jewels, and valuable pearls without number, and whatever else they could carry from the royal court and the houses of the nobles. They took this enormous amount of booty and concentrated it in Bałaberd. Then Andok ordered all the animal fodder in his cantons to be burned, and he gathered all food fit for human consumption and the arms and equipment and the harness of the cavalry inside the fortress. Then he ordered all the people of Siwnik' to burn their houses and barns and flee. The province collected all the church ornaments and took them to the church of Šałat, and tearfully embracing the relics of the saints and performing night services for eight days, they made

[1] Andovk (MX iii. 24 Antiok') Siwni, father of P'aṙanjem, is often mentioned in FB, but the latter author's account of his feats against Šapuh (iv. 20) bears no resemblance to the present passage.

a mound of earth over the church and then scattered in all directions. And no one henceforth dared to mention the name of Siwnik' and the whole land remained deserted and uninhabited for twenty-five years.

When King Šapuh returned at the end of the war and saw the ruins [in Ctesiphon], he wrathfully commanded the entire army to march into Siwnik' and capture both man and beast. When they arrived, however, they found nothing there. As they went round the country, they came to the mound over the church of Šałat, but when they climbed to the top, a great earthquake broke loose, and the Persian army and their general At'ašxoday fled in terror. Returning thence, they attacked the fortress, but [the soldiers in the fortress] rolled boulders down the slope causing great slaughter; and although the Persians attacked savagely two or three times, they could do nothing, but were slain in great numbers. The angry king, however, decided to intensify the attack, but all the nobles fell before him and begged him not to attack again, but rather lay waste the land surrounding the fortress.[1] Seizing a favourable opportunity, Andok subsequently left the fortress and passed into the land of the Romans with much booty, and there, greatly honoured,[2] he died.

His fourth son Babik,[3] however, longed for his native soil—for our own provinces are as dear to us as those who gave us birth—and went to the court of Šapuh, king of Persia, where, after meeting one of the soldiers, he himself was made [a soldier]. He performed great feats of bravery in the Persian Olympics, but no one recognized him. Then from [the land of] the Honk' a Hun arose called Honagur,[4] who, having plundered the kingdom of Persia, sent to

[1] FB's account (iv. 58) reports Šapuh's vengeance upon Siwnik' to have been completely successful.

[2] St. Orb. i, 8 says that Andok was well received by Theodosius who bestowed upon him the title of patricius.

[3] This Babik, possibly but not certainly the son of Andok, was one of the three Siwnians who survived the destruction of the province and were restored by Manuēl Mamikonean (*c.* 379) according to FB v. 42. MD, whose account contains much that is legendary, attributes Babik's return to Siwnik' to Šapuh (d. 379), whereas according to FB Babik was appointed ruler of the whole province by Manuēl Mamikonean and 'was [his] companion-at-arms (*nizakakiç*) all the days of his life'; see R. Grousset, *Histoire de l'Arménie*, pp. 158–60. Adontz, op. cit., p. 275, dubiously identifies this Babik with 'the excellent man Babik Siwni' of LP lxiii, a companion of St. Vardan Mamikonean, seeing in him therefore 'not [Andok's] son, but one of his immediate descendants'.

[4] This is the name of a people rather than a person; see *'Ονόγουροι* in G. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, ii (Budapest, 1943), pp. 189–90.

King Šapuh and said: 'Why all this bloodshed? Come, you and I shall fight it out.' Now this same Hun had clad his tall, broad body in coats of mail fifty layers thick, and covered his monstrous head with a studded helmet and his forehead, which was three spans wide, with a slab of copper; grasping his gigantic lance made from a tall forest tree and his gleaming sword, he terrified all who saw him. It was then that Babik's name was proposed to the king as one who might fight the duel, and the king of kings summoned Babik, gave him a royal warrant sealed with his ring bearing the sign of a boar,[1] and said to him: 'If you succeed in avenging me on this occasion, you shall receive great rewards.' He accepted the king's commission, and trusting to God to help him, he called out: 'O churches of Siwnik', help me!' Then he took up his own sturdy arms, clad his fine body in the king's shining, pearl-studded armour, fastened his tiger-shaped helmet over his handsome head, girt his sword about his waist, slung his golden shield over his left shoulder, grasped his fine-tempered lance in his right hand, and mounting his black steed, galloped towards the foe. They rushed upon each other, and the thunderous roar of the blows exchanged by their lances continued from dawn to the ninth hour. The enormous giant was doomed, for the brave Babik vanquished the murderous beast and dispatched him with a stroke of his sword. Šapuh was overjoyed, and he summoned Babik to him that he might fulfil the promises he had made him, and asking leave to speak, Babik said: 'Cause the bronze mortar to be removed from your court.' For this mortar was filled with ashes from the furnace, and whosoever passed by it would strike it and say: 'May the land of Siwnik' perish in body and soul[2] and become as these ashes!' In great amazement, the king ordered the mortar to be removed, and Babik then requested that his native land be returned to him. This the king granted, and he sent him in great honour back to his own country, bestowing upon him the same rank as that of the Bagratunis and the Mamikoneans; and he crossed the Araxes and built a village called Akorz,[3] that is to say 'the first village of the fatherland to be wrested away [from the Persians]'.

[1] *varazagir*; see FB iv. 53.

[2] *keank'n ew xorhurdn*, lit. 'its life and thought'.

[3] P1, 5, D1, 3, S *Akorz anun*; D2 *Akorz yanun*; P4, BM, V1 *Norakorzan*; E *Nakorz anun*. St. Orb., tr. Brosset, p. 25, n. 1, p. 50, has *Nakorzan*, as in Šahnazarean's Paris edition, i, p. 128. *Naxkorzan* is the form in Paris ed., i, p. 80, Tiflis ed., p. 86. *Naxkorzan* would accord best but still not well with the popular etymology given by MD above: *arajin korzeal i hayreneaçn*; but cf. *korzan* = *marz* 'frontier' (*NBHL*).

In the first year of his reign, Babik sallied forth to hunt, and he toured and inspected his deserted land. Coming to Šałat, he climbed a hill, and a stag started up and fled towards the mound over the church. When Babik pursued it, the stag disappeared on the hill, and his horse's hoofs sank in. Babik descended from his horse, and dragged his horse out with the greatest difficulty. All were struck with awe, and when they dug the earth away they found the beautiful church full of divine treasure and sweetly smelling. That day was the first day in the month of Hoŕi, and on that day those assembled there performed a great service, and there was great healing among those present. Unbelievers who witnessed this were converted, and Gor and Gazan, two rich brothers who had followed Babik with many other soldiers, were baptized. Babik drew lots, and Gor received the village of Xot, while the younger Gazan was allotted the desirable Šałat. All this took place twenty years before the reign of the wicked Yazkert[1] who wished to destroy the Christian faith and make us submit to Gehenna. St. Vardan and his holy followers were martyred by this same Yazkert, 1,066 chosen men, 120 years before the Armenian era began.[2] Know these things to have happened as follows:

Chapter 2. *How the Albanians were threatened by the lawless Yazkert and were saved by General Vardan of Armenia*[3]

IN the days of the impious Yazkert, Satan incited and urged him to destroy the Christian religion, and Albania received the strict command to abandon the Faith and submit to the Magian sect of fire-worshippers. The same king wrought the same iniquity in Armenia. The Albanian chiliarch (*hazarapet*)[4] and the holy archbishop of the country, however, opposed the command, and allying themselves to the Armenians, they sent their army in great haste to inform them of the evils which had come to pass, saying: 'The

[1] i.e. *c.* 418? (Yazdegard II, 438–59). Babik was a young man (*pataneak*) *c.* 379 according to FB v. 42. During this period the first of Hoŕi would have fallen in October (see Dulaurier, *Chronologie*, p. 384).

[2] Actually in 451, 101 years before the beginning of the Armenian era (552).

[3] A précis of Ełišē, *Vasn Vardanay ew Hayoç paterazmin*.

[4] The passage from here to 'lay hands on the Church' below (p. 66) is a close paraphrase of Eł. iii. 44, 45.

Persian force which was in the land of the Honk' has returned and has penetrated into our country with many other cavalrymen from the court. Apart from these, they have brought with them 300 theologians (*vardapetk'*). They have split the country, for they have gained some to their cause and now intend to lay hands on the Church. At the command of their king they coerce everyone, saying: "If you voluntarily accept our law, you shall receive gifts and honours from the king, but if you will not accept willingly, we have orders to build fire-temples in the villages and hamlets, to place therein the Vahram fire (*Vŕamakan krak*), and to appoint magi and mobads as the country's lawgivers; and if any should rebel, he shall be put to death, and his wife and children shall be exiled." '

When the Armenian army heard this, they did not despair, but uniting in face of this bad news they humoured [the Persian envoys] and sent them back so as to find an opportunity later to take them by cunning and to prevent them from laying hands on the Church before meeting their death. The Armenian army wrote to the Emperor Theodosius,[1] asking him to help them in their great peril, but he died suddenly, and the lawless Emperor Marcian, succeeding to the throne, did not adhere to the alliance, but characteristically made common cause with the heathens.[2] Finding no help anywhere, the brave Armenians placed their trust in the supreme, almighty power of the Most High, and they divided into three armies. The first they entrusted to Neršapuh Ŕmbosean to protect Atrpatakan, the second to Vardan, the general of Armenia, to cross the Georgian border to attack the marzpan of Čołay who had come to destroy the churches of Albania.[3] The blessed Vardan knew nothing of the treachery of the accursed renegade Vasak who, before the Armenian army entered Albania, informed the Persian marzpan Mersebuxt[4] that the Armenian army was divided and that Vardan and his small force were coming in his direction. 'Be prepared to meet them that they may be completely destroyed', was the criminal's advice.[5] When Mersebuxt received this encouragement from Vasak,[6] he did not remain in the region of Čołay, but drawing up his many forces hurriedly crossed the great river Kur

[1] Eł. iii. 46. [2] Eł. iii. 51. [3] Eł. iii. 53.

[4] P1, 4, 5, BM, V1, 2, E; S *Mihr Sebuxt*. Eł. iii. 56 *Sebuxt* (ed. E. Tēr-Minasean, Erevan, 1957, p. 75 gives also variants *Seboxtay*, *Eboxta*, *Sepuxt*), LP clxxxvii *Nixorakan Sebuxt*. [5] Eł. iii. 55.

[6] The passage from here to 'maintain a firm alliance' below (p. 68) is taken almost word for word from Eł. iii. 56–63.

and met him on the borders of Georgia opposite the town of Xałxał[1] which was the winter residence of the Albanian kings. Giving battle, he surrounded the entire plain, fully armed for the fight against the Armenian army. When the brave Vardan and his soldiers saw the numbers of the heathen army and contemplated the exiguity of their own, they were not dismayed by the overwhelming numbers. They gathered together, and raising their voices to Heaven, they said: 'Judge those, O Lord, who judge us; fight them who fight us; succour us with Thy sword and buckler and cause the host of the wicked to tremble and shake.' Thus they stood in prayer, and then, closing their ranks, the heroes of Armenia attacked, scattered the enemy's right flank and fell upon their left; and they put them all to the sword and routed them over the face of the plain into the fastnesses of the forests near the deep valleys of the Lubnas[2] river. Here the princes of the Bałasakan king came to meet them, and one of the Armenian nobles of the Dimak'sean regiment, Muš, was thrown from his horse and slain, and Gazrik[3] was wounded. Then Aršawir Aršaruni lifted up his eyes, roared like a lion, charged like a boar and slew the brave Vurk, brother of the king of the Lp'ink'; and countless others did he slaughter in that place. Thus did every man deal with his opponent, and in the determined attack there were more drowned in the river than were slain by the sword on dry land, and the clear waters of the river ran with the blood of the hosts of fallen; and not one of them escaped. One of the enemy soldiers who had been hiding in the thick woods in the plain still clad in his armour mounted his horse, crossed the river, and escaping by a hair's breadth, brought the bad news to his army, which fled to their royal capital (*šahastan*). The Armenian army, ending the great battle, gathered together the great booty and formed a great heap of gold and silver and the arms and ornaments of the brave men and their steeds. Then they turned and attacked the fortresses and towns held by the Persians in Albania. They fought fiercely, set fire to their prisons, rooted out swarms of infamous magians whom they put to the sword and left as carrion for the fowls of the air and the beasts of the field.

[1] 'This Xałxał is to be placed in the region of the village Xilxili (Xeilixan) on the r. Dzegam' (Yampol'skii, op. cit., p. 156).

[2] P1, 5, E, S; P4, BM, V1, 2 *Lubanas*. Eł. iii. 58 *Lop'nas* (ed. Tēr-Minasean, Erevan, 1957, p. 76, also *Lp'nas*, *Lobnas*, *Lobnaz*, *Luinas*, *Lbnas*).

[3] E; S *Gazirk*; BM *Gazrkann*; V1 *Gazraknn*. Eł. ibid. *Gazrik* (ed. T.-M. also *Gazrikn*, *Gazrikann*).

They purged the various localities of all filthy sacrifices and liberated the churches from their excessive afflictions. Many of the Albanian nobles and peasants, who for the sake of God's name had been scattered and driven into the mountain strongholds of the Caucasus, saw the great victory won by the Armenian army and came and joined them, mixed with the soldiers and allied themselves to their struggle. Then they set off to the Gate of the Honk' which the Persians held by force, captured and destroyed the fortress, annihilated the soldiers stationed inside, and entrusted the Gate to a certain Vardan who was of the family of the Albanian kings. In all these exploits, no one fell except him who was martyred. They sent the same man who had been entrusted with the gate as an ambassador to the land of the Honk' in order to speak with them and establish an inviolable treaty of alliance. When the Honk' heard what had happened, they made haste thither and witnessed their success with their own eyes; and they swore by the laws of the heavens[1] and accepted the oath of the Christians to maintain a firm alliance, thus fulfilling all their desires. Whilst they were in this place, a messenger arrived from Armenia bearing the bad news concerning the renegade Vasak, who had ravaged the entire land of Armenia.[2] Vardan, happy and confident, set off with his great booty, and rejoicing in God and placing his trust in Him, he arrived in Armenia in thirty days. Vasak heard of the triumphant arrival of the brave Vardan and of the alliance between the Honk' and the Albanians, and fleeing before his countenance and suffering ill fortune on account of his evil conduct, he found no mercy from God.[3] These things came to pass with divine help among the Albanians and Armenians in the days of Yazkert.

Chapter 3. *Mesrob Vardapet comes to Esualēn, king of Albania, invents an alphabet, founds schools again, and destroying the remaining sects, confirms the faith in the house of Albania*

In the days when Theodosius the Little was emperor of Greece, Vṙamšapuh king of Armenia, Yazkert king of Persia, and Esualēn king of Albania, the blessed Mesrob, the worthy and chosen vessel

[1] *ōrinōk' erkniç*; Eł. iii. 63 *əst kargi iwreanç ōrinaç* 'according to their own laws'.
[2] Eł. iii. 64, 65. [3] Eł. iii. 66, 67, &c.

of the Holy Spirit, came to our patriarch Eremia and King Asualēn in Albania, and they voluntarily accepted his teaching in accordance with the divine gifts which had been granted him and through which the Holy Spirit gave an alphabet to the Armenians and Georgians. They were well pleased and gave him chosen youths to teach, and from Siwnik' he summoned the interpreter Benjamin whom the young Vasak sent through Bishop Anania. They came to Mesrob, and with their aid he created an alphabet for the guttural, disjointed, barbarous, and harsh language of the Gargaraçik'. He left his pupil Yovnat'an here as spiritual overseer, appointed priests at the king's court, and returned to Armenia.[1] He travelled to Byzantium to King Theodosius[2] and returning thence journeyed about with his disciples. Hearing that there was still a heathen sect left in Gardman, he returned from Siwnik' and approached Xurs, prince of Gardman. With his help he established orthodoxy, and then went to answer the summons of Ašušay,[3] governor (*bdeašx*) of Georgia, who requested him to do the same work there.

At the same time the accursed Nestorius appeared and was cursed by the two hundred at Ephesus.[4] In the first year of King Yazkert the Second's reign, St. Sahak died at the end of the month of Nawasard, and six months afterwards the blessed Mesrob died and was laid to rest with the saints in the town of Vałaršapat.[5]

Xosrov, a certain naxarar of Gardman who had gone to Armenia, chanced to be in the presence of the cowardly king Šapuh at a banquet, and, drunk with wine, he behaved indecently with a certain woman. Šapuh wrathfully commanded him to be thrown

[1] MD ignores the account of Mesrob's invention contained in Koriwn and LP and summarizes MX iii. 54 (see Patkanean, p. xi). On the discovery of the so-called Albanian alphabet by Soviet scholars in 1937, see A. Shanidze, 'Novootkrytyi alfavit kavkazskix Albantsev i ego znachenie dlya nauki'; I. Abuladze, 'K otkrytiyu alfavita kavkazskix Albantsev', *Izvestiya Instituta Yazyka, Istorii i Material'noi Kul'tury im. Akad. Marra, Grusinskogo Filiala Akademii Nauk SSSR*, tome iv, Tbilisi, 1938; G. Dumézil, 'Une chrétienté perdue: les Albanais du Caucase', *Mélanges Asiatiques*, Paris, 1940–1, pp. 126 ff.; H. Kurdian, 'The Newly Discovered Alphabet of the Caucasian Albanians', *JRAS*, 1956, pp. 81–83. On the as yet undeciphered inscriptions found in Albania, see K. V. Trever, *Ocherki po istorii i kulture Kavkazskoi Albanii*, Moscow–Leningrad, 1959, pp. 335–9, and refs.
[2] MX iii. 57.
[3] S *Ašuša*; P4, BM *Haršuša*; P5, D1, 3 *Aštušt*; E *Haštuša*; P1 *anšušt*(!). MX. iii. 60 calls Ašušay bdeašx of the Gugaraçik' and names Tašir as his province, and for Koriwn also he is prince of the Tašraçik'. LP xxv, &c., like MD, calls him bdeašx of Georgia.
[4] MX iii. 61. [5] MX iii. 67.

into prison, but supporting himself on his sword, he left the hall and went his way, and no one dared lay a hand upon him.[1]

Chapter 4. *The transfer of the patriarchal throne of Albania from Čołay and its establishment in the city of Partaw on account of the Khazars who ravaged the land in the course of their raids*

AFTER these events, the land of Albania was captured by the Khazars and churches and gospels destroyed by fire. In the second year of Xosrov, king of kings, when they established the beginning of the Armenian era, the throne of the Albanian patriarchate was transferred from the town of Čołay to the capital Partaw on account of the marauding incursions of the enemies of the Cross of Christ. They appointed Tēr Abas from the canton of Mec Irank'[2] as patriarch; he held office for forty-four years,[3] and having lived a saintly life, inherited life eternal.

Chapter 5. *The apparition of the martyrs on Dizap'ayt Hill and the discovery of their relics in the days of Abas's patriarchate*

BEFORE Tēr Abas was elected spiritual overseer of this land of Albania, the chapels on Dizap'ayt Hill in Kataroy Vank' were burned down by our enemies. In the days of King Vačagan and Gaṙnik, bishop of Amaras, the saints called St. Moses, St. Daniel, and St. Elias appeared. They were the sons of Sanesan, king of the Mask'ut'k', who had become the disciples of St. Grigoris with 3,870 others. They fled in haste to the hill of Dizap'ayt and lived on grass, but the bloodthirsty Sanesan pursued them and put them to the sword on the ninth day of Nawasard. By their intercesssion may God have mercy upon this land of Albania for ever.

Chapter 6. *The vision of Vehik*

IN the first year of the patriarchate of Abas, I, the unworthy Vehik, saw in a vision a hermit holding the image of the Holy Cross; and

[1] MX iii, 55.

[2] S; E *Mecirang*; P1, D1 *Mecaranaç*; P5, D2, 3 *Mecarang*; BM, P4 *Meciwreang*.

[3] 552–96.

he called me by my name. I said: 'Who art thou, lord?' And he said: 'I am Pōłosik; come now and worship this cross, but do not touch it.' When I awoke from my sleep, I paid no more heed to these things. When two years had passed, I saw in a vision St. Varos in the shape of a monk, and he said to me: 'We are relics hidden in the province of Arcax in the field of Kałset of the family of Mxanç; there is the protomartyr Stephen, Theodosius martyr, Sts. Varos, Mamas, Mar Sargis, the martyr George,[1] Cosmas and Damian, and parts of the Holy Forty.' And there appeared to me a man in like shape who said to me: 'I am Basira, the servant of Christ who was tortured on the Cross, and I have begged the Saviour not to permit my relics to remain lost; those who desire a piece of this Holy Cross shall have it, and there is a piece of this Cross and a piece of the Cross which received the body of God.'

I, Vehik, remained in wonderment for seven years, praying sincerely to All-merciful God and those same martyrs to reveal to me the true meaning of the vision. The same vision was repeated, again urging the removal of the relics. 'We are still in distress', it said. Then I, Vehik, arose and went to the holy patriarch Abas and informed him of the group of glorious martyrs. Hearing of the vision, he glorified the living God with much thanksgiving and straightway sent Daniēl, the pious priest of Tri, to acquaint himself with the wondrous mystery. The trustworthy man swiftly departed with the priest Boh and the scribe Ezekiēl, arrived quickly at the field of Kałset and came to me, Vehik. Others arrived at the meeting-place to work with us, namely, Abas, abbot of Momharēk' and his flock, the priest Markos with his brothers, Father Tirit' of the monastery of St. John from the desert of Karmełinay, and many other believers. We stood with them in prayer, and then, beseeching God, we began to dig as hard as humanly possible. Suddenly the place was filled with fragrant perfumes, and the hidden treasure was revealed in accordance with the words of the Saviour: 'It is not meet to hide one's light and place it under a bushel' [Mark iv. 21, &c.]. Thus did God reveal a torch to His righteous servants and give a light of inextinguishable radiance to desirous hearts, for God had mercy on this land of Albania in [giving] wholesome sweetness to the field of Kałset. The congregation blessed God and praised the saints and enclosed the relics in precious reliquaries. The priest Daniēl took a part of each relic and

[1] BM, E; S *Grigoris*.

hastened with this most precious gift to the patriarch Abas who, greatly pleased therewith, celebrated a feast in commemoration of the coming of the saints and placed them in most pure caskets.

I, Adrianē, who wrote this colophon, pray that my readers will remember my unworthy self and will not forget the patriarch Abas in whose days the Light shone forth in the world. Wherefore may God in His great mercy remember also Vehik their guide, and to you who remember us may Christ give your reward for the sake of the blessed martyrs, now and for ever, amen.

Chapter 7. *The letter from Yovhannēs, catholicos of Armenia,*[1] *to Tēr Abas, catholicos of Albania, concerning the confirmation of the Faith*

GREETINGS and blessings to my good, true, godly, and beloved brother and colleague the Lord Abas, catholicos of Albania, and to Movsēs, bishop of Baxałat, Grigor, bishop of Kapałak, Hṙomik, bishop of Amaras, Timot'ē, bishop of Bałasakan, Ambakum, bishop of Šak'ē, Yovhanik, bishop of Gardman, and Łewond, bishop of Mec Kołmank', from Yovhannēs, catholicos of Armenia, Abraham, bishop of Tarōn, Grigor, bishop of the *mardpet*,[2] Step'annos, bishop of Tayk', Maštoç, bishop of the Xorxoṙunik', Giwt, bishop of Vanand, Abdišoy, bishop of Asorestan, Pap, bishop of the Amatunik', K'ristap'or, bishop of the Ṙštunik', Sekundos, bishop of Mokk', and all the other bishops of Armenia.

We have heard a terrible rumour to the effect that certain ravening wolves in sheep's clothing have entered your country from the monastery of the filthy Peter, called the 'lovers of the poor' but men who are by their deeds haters of Christ and renunciate the Holy Trinity, men who sow the evil tares of the accursed Nestorius and the council of Chalcedon without restraint in the souls of the innocent, perverting them from the orthodox faith into eternal perdition. Learning of the incurable afflictions which have broken out to the detriment of both body and soul, we hasten with the utmost urgency to stand by you, and write to recall to you the words of the holy apostle exhorting you to watch over yourselves and the flock of which the Holy Spirit made you the guardians and

[1] Yovhannēs II, 557–74.

[2] On this office, see Adontz, [*Justinian*], p. 470, &c.

teachers, and to remind you to maintain firmly the orthodox faith which our fathers received from the holy writ of the Old and New Testaments through St. Gregory and the thrice-blessed councils of the 318 in Nicaea, the 150 in Constantinople, and the 200 in Ephesus,[1] with all of whom we agreed and from whom we inherited the orthodox faith, that is, the faith of all the churches of Christ God. We confess one God, the Almighty Father, creator of all things, and the one Lord Jesus Christ, Son of God, begotten of the Father, very God of very God, by whom all things [were made], and in the Holy Spirit proceeding from the Father, worshipped and glorified with the Father and Son, the Holy Trinity, associates in creation and equal, of one perfect nature, watching with power and glory over all things which are. And finally the eternal Word of God, being God, became perfect and unchanged Man, born incarnate of the Holy Virgin, neither separated from his nature nor parted from his fleshliness, but remaining I AM, the same immutable God incarnate not partially, but wholly, not a duality, but an indivisible unity. It was not the Father who became incarnate, but the Son; it was not the Holy Spirit which became solid flesh, but the Only-begotten of the Father, although this came to pass through the will of the Father and the power of the Holy Spirit; but by substance (*goyut'iwn—οὐσία*) only the Word God. Thus is the Holy Nativity understood: the Infinite itself was wrapped in swaddling clothes that we might clad ourselves in incorruptibility; He was laid in a manger that we might lay aside our bestiality; He was glorified by the angels that we might sing with them; He received gifts from the Magi that we might cause the Faith to bear fruit; He was fed with milk that we might acquire freedom from sin; He grew perfect in body that we might achieve the perfection of Christ; He submitted voluntarily to torments that we might be saved from the torments of sin; He was crucified that we might be worthy of the fruit of Life; He died that by His death Death too might die; He was laid in the tomb that he might shatter the locks of Hell; He rose on the third day that He might lead us to life; He ascended into Heaven and sat on the right hand of the Father that

[1] P1, 2, 3, 5, S, E add. *jumlay o͞kə surb hayrapetk'* 'a total of 668 holy patriarchs'; BM, P4 om. *HAG* 516, considers *jumlay* (Ar. *djumla*) to be probably the oldest extant Arabic loan-word in Armenian. The word cannot have been contained in any letter from Yovhannēs II to Abas, both sixth-century patriarchs, and its absence from BM and P4 suggests that its presence in manuscripts of Group 1 is due to the accountancy of a scribe rather than MD himself.

we also might be ranged on the right hand; He will come again to judge the quick and the dead, and there is no end to His kingdom.

Therefore we say in faith and praise: Holy God, holy and powerful, holy, and immortal, who wert crucified for us, have mercy upon us. Those who did not confess thus were cursed by the holy fathers just as we curse all the ancient and modern heretics: namely, Paul of Samosata, Mani, Marcion, the filthy Nestorius, Theodoret, the evil and vain Council of Chalcedon, and the Jewish letter of Leo which impudently presumed to attribute two natures (*bnut'iwn*) and two persons (*dēm*) to the one Christ God and to assert that the Holy Virgin did not give birth to God, but to a mere man like ourselves, a temple of the Word of God.

There are others who affirm that while the Lord Christ was on earth, He was not in heaven, and that while He was on the cross, He was not on the throne of glory, and that while He was in the tomb, He was not at the right hand of the Father. God curses those who think thus, and we curse all who believe and accept it.

We have sent you the priest Matt'ēos, a trustworthy member of our clergy, to deliver this letter. We remind you of the words of John the Evangelist, who says that 'if any should come to you and does not accept the teaching of Our Lord Jesus Christ, do not receive him into your house, and address no words of greeting to him; if any should greet such a one, he is an accomplice to his evil deeds, for whosoever does not confess that the Lord Jesus came in the flesh, he is the deceptive Antichrist' [2 John x. 11 and 1 John iv. 3]. Drive such as they from your borders, and do not listen to their deadly teaching. Since your fathers were of the same faith as our fathers, and you are of the same faith as we, we should be pleased if three or more of your bishops would come and learn about the true doctrine from us, so that none of the shepherds might perish and the flock be lost, but that the angels in heaven and we servants and worshippers of Christ God on earth might rejoice in your discovering what is good. Greetings in the Lord.

Chapter 8. *The expulsion from Albania of the heretics whom Lord Abas, catholicos of Albania, exiled on receipt of the above letter*

PROPAGATED amid bitter quarrels, the vain and worthless heretical confusion of the Council of Chalcedon spread throughout the world, and owing to the tolerance of God their false teaching grew stronger, and the souls of many who were tainted by its facile proposition entered the eternal darkness of perdition. These tares took root also in this land of Albania, and Lord Abas, catholicos of Albania, together with his bishops named in the above letter, made a thorough inquiry and drove the filthy doctors of the sect from Albania: the hypocrite T'ovmas, the psalmist Elia, Bnotn, Ibas, and others like them were exiled to distant lands. Thus was peace established among the clergy through the mercy of Almighty God. Worldly battles, however, greatly increased.

Chapter 9. *The history of the rising of the barbarians and the various events in the universal disaster which overtook many nations*

O, WHAT wonderful stories are those which I have prepared to publish for the attention of the world far and near! The accounts of earlier ages concerning the various battles and periods of confusion which broke out in different places and among divers peoples cannot compare with them; and they were recorded in advance by the Holy Spirit with many details and metaphors. Nor can the philosophic compositions of profane authors, clever and eloquent fables of things terrestrial and spiritual, present the like! For there came and fell upon us that of which Our Saviour, humanely yielding to the patient attention of the chosen twelve, spoke in the life-bringing gospel concerning the times of tribulation [Matt. xxiv. 6, 7, 29]: 'Ye shall hear of wars and rumours of wars, and all the multitude of famines and pestilences and earthquakes, and signs in the sun and the heavens and the stars, and confusion between nations like the confusion of the waves of the sea.' And the Lord admonished us, saying: 'Watch therefore, for ye know neither the day nor the hour' [Matt. xxv. 13].

And now, since I have applied my mind to and occupied my thoughts with universal disasters, I have neglected the thread of my discourse, which was prepared to lay the first foundations of a history of the times and of the events which took place in our land of Albania; as the Prophet says: 'I have forgotten to eat my bread by reason of the voice of my groaning' [Ps. ci. 6 = A.V. Ps. cii. 4,

5]. However, suppressing for a time the fear and dread which still possesses us, we shall keep to the subject. For we see that there are many who wish to hear an account embracing all the countless blows inflicted upon the barbaric foes around us, and to hear of the great and wonderful miracles with which the strong and merciful right hand of God chastised our enemies and struck them dead before our eyes. Since the time that has elapsed requires that I retrace these events, I shall begin from the first [year] of the 18th *nahanǰ* of the Epiphany of Our Lord Jesus Christ in the month of Mehekan, that is, in the 35th year of Xosrov, son of Ormizd, king of kings.[1]

Chapter 10. *A historical account[2] beginning from the first [year] of the 18th nahanǰ*

WHEN in the days of the godly emperor Flavus Heraclius the captivity of Jerusalem was ended, as formerly it ended after seventy

[1] *Sksayç yaṙaǰin tasnewut' nahanǰēn yaytnut'ean Teaṙn meroy Yisusi K'ristos mehekani amsoy, yeresun ew hing amēn Xosrovu.* . . . Patkanean, p. 99, renders this 'I shall begin my account from the first year of the 18th bissextile after the Epiphany of our Lord Jesus Christ, of the month of Mehekan, in the 35th year of Xosrov', that is, as though the text read . . . *yaṙaǰin amēn tasnewut' nahanǰin*. . . The first *nahanǰ* of the Armenian era comprises years 1–4, the eighteenth *nahanǰ* the years 69–72. The first year of the eighteenth *nahanǰ* would therefore be 69A = 620/1 which does not coincide with the thirty-fifth year of Xosrov (624/5), which is the first year of the nineteenth *nahanǰ*, i.e. 73A. Dulaurier, *Chronologie*, p. 9, translates the phrase thus: 'Je commencerai d'abord mon récit dès la 18e bissextile, qui déplaça l'Épiphanie dans le mois de Mehegan, et à partir de la 35e année de Khosrov'; he adds that 'l'auteur compte la 18e bissextile à partir de l'an 1 È.A. (= 11 juillet 552–10 juillet 553), c'est-à-dire 72 ans. Or 552+72 = 624.' He is followed in this interpretation by Adontz, *Anahit*, 1939, p. 25, who assumes that MD added 18 *nahanǰ* (4×18 = 72) to the 1st of Mehekan 1A (6 January 552). Such a procedure is not that of a good chronologist, although it is true that MD has no claim to such a title. A satisfactory explanation of the phrase, suggested to me by Professor W. B. Henning, is to read it as 'from the first [year] of the eighteenth *nahanǰ* of Epiphany in the month of Mehekan', i.e. the eighteenth time Epiphany falls in the month of Mehekan. It falls in this month for the first time in the year 5A, when 1 Mehekan = 6 January 557, and for the eighteenth time in 73A, when 18 Mehekan = 6 January 625, which is in the thirty-fifth year of Xosrov. The formula in the title of Chapter 10 would then be a misleading abbreviation of the present one.

Another synchronism in terms of the Armenian calendar and a Church feast fixed in accordance with the Julian calendar is found below (iii. 21, p. 222); see Dulaurier, op. cit., pp. 8–9.

[2] Despite this promise of a historical account, the events of the following Chapters 10 to 14 concerning the war between Heraclius and Chosroes II are not presented in any clear chronological order. What E. Gerland ('Die persischen Feldzüge des Kaisers Heracleios', *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, iii (1894), p. 335) says of Sebēos—'dieser hat kein chronologisches Gebäude'—is even more applicable to MD. Like Nicephorus, George the Monk, and Sebēos, he treats the war as though it consisted of one protracted campaign, whereas Theophanes is careful to distinguish between the individual episodes; see the Introduction, pp. xii–xiii.

years[1] in the days of Cyrus of Persia, God visited and opposed the arrogant king of Persia, the mighty Xosrov, who had for a long time routed and defeated the House of Augustus together with their great kingdom of Rome and the celebrated Palestinian city. When Xosrov saw that the war he had launched against the king of the Greeks was progressing under the leadership of the general in charge of the army drawn up against the west whose real name was Xoṙean, he called him various fancy names, now Ṙazmiozan[2] and now Šahrvaraz,[3] on account of his advances, attacks, and victories won by Persian cunning. And Xoṙean took and set fire to the great city of Jerusalem and captured the Holy Rood,[4] the Cross, the Light of the World, the instrument by which Hell was enthralled, together with all the sacred vessels of gold and silver set with precious stones of those regions, valuable purple robes sewn with pearls, even the furniture of the buildings in the wondrous and magnificent capital cities, and many quadrupeds and birds the very names of which were quite unknown to the lands of the east. But I shall not add to the length of my discourse, for the deeds he performed and the heaps of treasure which he carried off as loot to the court of the Persian king, are extraneous and superfluous to the plan of my work. However, he was not content with the immense riches and the various singers at his banquets and his delicate maidens and youths. He fought on land and on sea, and he transferred the beautiful cities of the Romans together with their inhabitants to Persia. In this way he founded towns which architects built in their previous shape, and he called one 'Greater than

[1] See 2 Chron. xxxvi. 21, &c.

[2] P4, BM, V1, 2 *Ṙuzmiozan*; E *Ṙazmiozan*; P5 *Ṙozmiozan*; S *Ṙozmi-Ozan*; P1 *Ṙazmioṫan*. See other forms in H*AG*, p. 69, to which the form *Ṙuzi Bahan* (l) of Mich. Asor. (ed. Jerusalem, 1871, p. 297) may be added.

[3] See H*AG*, p. 60. Nöldeke, . . . *Tabari* . . . , p. 290, thought that Rozmiuzan and Šahrbarāz were two generals, but MD's evidence, as H. Grégoire points out (*Mélanges Bidez*, Brussels, 1934, p. 453, n. 1) decides the question.

[4] Cf. Theophanes, p. 300; George the Monk, p. 566; Nicephorus, p. 15; Sebēos, xxiv, tr. Macler, pp. 68–69.

Antioch';[1] he called others by their old names, but always adding the words 'greater than . . .'.

When he had succeeded in imposing his will on all nations and kingdoms as he wished, he became so strong and arrogant as to think that he had made his kingdom terrible and wonderful by his own efforts and feats of bravery, and he did not remember that the Lord is above the kingdoms of men and gives power to whomsoever He pleases. Gradually he began to weaken before the king of the Greeks, and he failed to hold up his head with his old power. The emperor suddenly informed all his armies and generals who were fighting Xosrov that God was prospering their cause, and he immediately ordered them to assemble in one place[2] with all the forces they disposed of. All took note of the time and place appointed for the assembly. No man waited for his neighbour, but without delay all hastened to beat their ploughshares into swords and their scythes into spears. The weak and the peaceful were encouraged, saying 'We are strong and men of war' [cf. Joel iii. 10]. Setting out with the whole of his army, Heraclius himself acted as leader and general for his men. Leaving his court in the hands of his son, he placed a crown upon his son's head and set him upon the throne of the kingdom in his stead.[3] He did not march against the Persian army which had surrounded and subjected his lands and cities, nor did he pass near them or engage them in battle; he left them there in his own country, crossed the sea, and making his way over the land of the Egerians,[4] he reached Armenia, crossed the

[1] *aṙawel kʻan zAntiokʻ kʻaṙakʻ*, built by Chosroes I (cf. Sebēos, ii, tr. Macler, p. 8), not Chosroes II, near Madain; see *HAG*, p. 83, to which MD's form may be added.

[2] In Caesarea in Cappadocia: Sebēos, xxvi, p. 91, tr. Macler, p. 81.

[3] Cf. Sebēos, xxvi, p. 91, tr. Macler, p. 80 (who mentions that Heraclius's son Constantine was a small boy), Tabari, tr. Nöldeke, p. 294; Sergius and Bonosus had effective charge of the city (Theophanes, p. 303; Nicephorus, p. 15; George the Monk, p. 567). For discussions on the date of the beginning of Heraclius's campaigns, see Gerland, op. cit., pp. 330–73; N. Baynes, 'The Date of the Avar Surprise', *BZ* xxi (1912), pp. 110 ff.; Manandean, 'Marshruty persidskikh pokhodov imperatora Irakliya,' *Vizantiiskii Vremennik*, iii (1950), pp. 132–46.

[4] Nicephorus, George the Monk, Eutyches of Alexandria, Antiochus Strategus, also indicate an improbable voyage across the Black Sea to Lazica or Egeria. George Pisides mentions no sea-voyage, while Theophanes, p. 303, says expressly that Heraclius left Pylai *ἐπὶ τὰς τῶν θεμάτων χώρας*: see Gerland, op. cit., pp. 341 ff.; Manandean, op. cit., p. 135. Sebēos, xxvi, p. 92, followed closely by TA ii. 3, p. 92, states likewise that the emperor went from Chalcedon to Caesarea *čanaparh kaleal ənd kołmans hiwsisoy* 'making his way over the northern regions',

Araxes,[1] and planned to take the great King Xosrov unawares. When this news reached Xosrov, he was amazed, and he said: 'Is this not he who was plunged into an abyss for fear of me? But now, what is this?' And fleeing before him from his summer residence on the Median border, he passed thence into Asorestan and sent swift messengers to his great general Šahrvaraz with letters containing mighty oaths and threats. 'My great shame and wrath', he said, 'will be averted if you succeed in arriving quickly and if you leave not a single man or beast from among those who have ventured into my presence alive!' The general took the command in his hand and read the terrible news. He immediately drew up the entire Persian army, and leaving the towns of the Romans and Palestinians which he had enslaved in the hands of garrisons, he carefully commanded them to hold them until his return from the present business. He set the army in motion with chosen, well-armed men and swift steeds, and made haste to place himself at the king's command. The great emperor Heraclius, seeing the king of Persia flee before him, had ceased to pursue him and made assaults in the region of Atrpatakan[2] up to the place called Gayšawan, a fortified place on the Median border chosen by the kings of Persia as a summer residence for the hot season on account of its cool climate. Heraclius plundered, ravaged, and enslaved the whole country, and returning thence, decided to winter in the lands of Albania, Georgia, and Armenia.[3] For this reason he wrote to the princes and governors of

but he does previously (p. 90) mention the very short voyage from Constantinople to Asia: *naweaç i cov i Kʻałkedon* 'he sailed over the sea to Chalcedon'. It is just possible that it is to this short crossing that MD refers, and that his passing in one breath from the beginning of the campaign in 622 to Heraclius's arrival in Egeria four years later only makes it *appear* that the emperor sailed from the capital to Egeria; his statement below (ii. 12, p. 81), however, that Heraclius's ambassador returned in 626 with his Khazar allies through Georgia and Egeria 'across the great sea up to the royal palace' reveals a partiality for fantastic voyages.

[1] After passing through Karin (Theodosiopolis) and Dwin according to Sebēos and TA, locc. citt.

[2] Cf. TA iii. 3, p. 93 *i Ganjakn Atrpatakani* 'to Ganjak of Atrpatakan'; Sebēos, xxvi, p. 92 *i Ganjak ari gewłn ayn* 'sur Ganjak, ce village vaillant' (tr. Macler, p. 81; *արի գեւղն այն ari gewłn ayn* is a corruption of *ատրպատական Atrpatakan*. On the position of this Ganjak, where Heraclius destroys the great pyre Všnasp, see V. Minorsky, 'Roman and Byzantine Campaigns in Atropatene', *BSOAS* xi (1943–6), pp. 248–51.

[3] Having telescoped the events of 622 and 626 (see above, p. 74, n. 4.), MD now deals with those of 623 to 624; Heraclius wintered in Albania 623/4 (Manandean, op. cit., p. 139).

these lands requesting them to come out and meet him voluntarily, that they might receive him and serve him with their forces during the winter; if they would not do this, he said, he would consider them as heathens and would capture their fortresses and enslave their kingdoms. Hearing this, all the chiefs and princes of Albania abandoned the great city of Partaw at Xosrov's command, and fortified themselves in various places.[1] Many of the Christian and heathen artisans of Partaw, who by reason of weakness and infirmity could not flee to safety, remained in the city. A certain priest called Zak'aria, a holy man, a monk at the church of Partaw and a meek and gentle fellow, took command. He saved many Christians by oaths and various other means, by his prayers and guarantees, which he also made on behalf of the Jews and pagans; his work was afterwards praised by everyone, and he was appointed to a bishopric in the Albanian see. When the Roman army arrived in its immense numbers, it encamped by the swift stream within the confines of the village of Kałankatuk'.[2] They trampled down and

[1] Theophanes, p. 309, shows the emperor Heraclius to have been accompanied by Lezgians, Abasgians, and Georgians during his undertakings of the following year (624), upon which Gerland (op. cit., p. 357) comments: 'Wir sehen also, daß es dem Herakleios gelungen ist, in jenen nördlichen Gegenden Bundesgenossen anzuwerben.' But Heraclius's attempts to recruit Caucasians were a failure; both Partaw and Tiflis closed their gates, and Theophanes' statement (p. 308) to the effect that the emperor was ordered to Albania by the Bible itself would have been coldly received by the owners of the ruined fields and vineyards (below, p. 81). What Caucasian allies he did manage to attract all deserted according to Theophanes in the course of the following winter. The Armenians appear to have been more co-operative; Theophanes mentions the leader of their contingent by name (Georgios), and Sebēos is invariably favourably disposed towards the 'blessed Heraclius'.

[2] A large village (*giwł mec*) in the province of Uti (ii, 11, p. 84), situated near a swift stream (*helełat*), presumably the Terter, opposite a mountain (ibid.). It is called *Ķalķāṭūs* by Arab geographers, who place it on the main road from Partaw to Dwin at a distance of 9 parasangs from Partaw and 13 parasangs before *Matrīs* (al-Istakhrī, ed. de Goeje, p. 193, ll. 4, 5; Ibn Ḥauķal, ed. de Goeje, p. 251, l. 21–p. 252, l. 1; cf. al-Muķaddasī, ed. de Goeje, p. 381, l. 15, p. 382, l. 2). Al-Idrīsī (12th century), tr. Jaubert, p. 324, calls it a 'petite ville entourée de murs, avec marché florissant'. M. Barxutareanç says that 'at present [1902] a few Muslim families live in the ruins of the village of Kałankat which lies between the ruined village of Diwdakan and the inhabited village of Matalis on the left bank of the Terter near the Paŕawi Kamurj (*Karî köprüsü*) ['Crone's Bridge']; . . . it is bordered on the east by the Terter, on the south by the hill of Varunkatał or Liwlasał, on the west by the village of Matałis, and on the north by the ruins of Diwdakan and the village of T'ališ [Talysh]' (*Patmut'iwn Ałuaniç*, part I, Vałaršapat, 1902, p. 31). This indicates a position close to Kelany on Lynch's map (39° 20′ N., 46° 44′ E.), a position accepted by Manandean, *Glavnye puti Armenii po Tabula Peuteringiana*, Erevan, 1936, pp. 200–2, 250; art. cit. above, *Vizantiiskii Vremennik*, iii, pp. 139–40; *O torgovle i gorodakh Armenii v svyazi s mirovoi torgovlei drevnikh vremen*, 2nd ed., Erevan, 1954, p. 241 (where he suggests amending *Matrīs* to **Hatrīs* = Hat'erk'). G. Zarbhanalean, *Haykakan hin dprut'ean patmut'iwn*, Venice, 1932, p. 442, identifies the village with Parunkat'ał or Varunkat'ał (the form Tarounkatal given by N. K. Chadwick, *The Beginnings of Russian History*, Cambridge, 1946, p. 54, I have not found elsewhere) which Barxutareanç equates with Chardakhlu.

Kałanka(y)tuk' was the site of a monastery (iii. 8, p. 194), was represented by a monastery in Jerusalem (ii. 52, p. 185), and was the seat of a noble *c.* 704 (iii. 10, p. 197).

ruined the beautiful vineyards and fields over which they passed, and marching thence, they camped by the river Trtu (Terter) near the village of Diwtakan. Then they were pursued by the Persian army called the 'New Army', the general of which was Šahrapłakan.[1] Among these was one of the faithful nobles of the king, a governor, and a commander named Granikan Sałar,[2] who also marched against him; and yet another Persian general[3] marched from Rome and thrust the Heraclian armies back and drove them over the land of Siwnik'. For although the Persian army was badly hit,[4] they nevertheless drove, threw, and beat him back to his own country, and then retook the towns which he had forcibly taken from them.

Chapter 11. *How Xosrov mobilizes his armies against the king of the Greeks and vanquishes him for many years by sword and enslavement in the land of the Romans*

IN great hordes the Khazars emerged and fell upon our country

[1] P2, 3, 5, E *Šahrapłakan*; P4, BM, V1, 2. *Šahapłakan*; P1, D1 *Šahatr palatakan*; S *Šahatrpałakan*. The original Armenian form was probably **Šahrapałakan* (see forms below, p. 85, n. 2); for the etymology of this name ('Reichspanther'), see Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, Marburg, 1895, p. 276, overlooked by me in 'The Name and the Role of *Σαραβλαγγᾶς* or Šahrapłakan', *Byzantion*, xxi (1951), pp. 314–15; Hübschmann's etymology, *Arm. Gr.*, p. 59, is unsatisfactory. The Nor Zōr 'New Army' is the *στρατὸν τοὺς λεγομένους Χοσροηγέτας* of Theophanes, p. 308.

[2] BM, Q, V1, 2 *Granikan salar*; D3 *Granikn salar*; E, S *Granik Salar*. This is probably the general mentioned together with Sarablaggas as a leader of the Chosroēgetai by Theophanes, p. 309, and called by him Perozitas, therefore perhaps another example of one Persian general bearing two names (see above, p. 77, n. 3).

[3] This can refer either to Šahr Varaz or Šahēn; see Sebēos, xxvi, pp. 92–93; Theophanes, pp. 309–10.

[4] A reference to the defeat of Šahr Varaz after Heraclius's capture of Salbanōn (Theophanes, p. 311; Sebēos, p. 93)?

at the command of Heraclius,[1] and Xosrov, king of Persia, sent his envoys to them. 'At whose command', he asked, 'have you entered my country? At his, who roamed over the isles of the western seas, a fugitive before me? If you were in need of gold and silver and precious stones and muslin and purple robes embroidered with gold and encrusted with pearls, I could have given you twice as much as he to satisfy your desires. Therefore I tell you, do not repeat your raids on me on account of his vain demands. If you do, have it your own way, but I shall now tell you in advance what I shall do. In order to make him abandon to me [what he has taken] in alliance with you, I shall summon from his land my great and victorious general Šahrvaraz and my two brave warriors Šahēn and K'rtakarēn[2] and my chosen, fully armed soldiers in their thousands and tens of thousands whom I directed against the west.[3] Now I shall turn their bridles towards the east and shall march against you with all my might and shall not leave you alone or give you rest or respite until I have driven you to the ends of the earth. Then will you realize the senseless and disastrous nature of your undertakings. For when I have brought thence that great host, whither shall I lead them and bid them rest? What land could stand against them? If [you will] not [realize this and withdraw], I shall act in accordance with what I have told you.' At these hostile and menacing words, the Khazars ceased their operations for that year and returned through the same gates. When the prince their ruler saw all the booty they had captured in these raids, however—men, animals, golden vessels, and costly raiment—he decided to raid the same places himself. He ordered all those who were under his command—divers nations and tribes, mountain-folk and plain-

[1] On the confused chronological order of the passages concerning the role of the Khazars in Heraclius's campaign, see the Introduction, pp. xii–xiii. This attack took place probably in early summer 626, immediately after the conclusion of the alliance between the emperor and the Khazars 'in the thirty-sixth year of Xosrov' (spring 626; see note 3 below).

[2] Theophanes, p. 323, *Καρδαρίγαν τὸν συστράτηγον Σαρβάρου*; Syr. *Kārdārīgān*, see *HAG* p. 91. The Armenian form should be **Kartarikan* but has undergone metathesis.

[3] Baynes, 'The Date of the Avar Surprise', *BZ* xxi (1912), p. 121, points out that the two generals Šahr Varaz and Šahēn were at this juncture both in the west only in the summer of 626, and that it was during this very summer that Šahēn was defeated by the emperor's brother Theodore and died; cf. Theophanes, p. 315. Baynes concludes that Chosroes's letter was written in the early summer of 626 before the news of the defeat of the golden spears had reached Ctesiphon.

dwellers, men who lived under roofs and others who slept beneath the stars, seamen and landsmen, men with shaven heads and men with long hair[1]—to come when he gave the signal, well prepared and ready-armed.

In the thirty-eighth year of Xosrov, the year of his wretched and miserable murder,[2] he whom we have mentioned above,[3] J̌ebu Xak'an,[4] arrived with his son, and none could count the numbers of his forces. When the dreadful and sorrowful news reached the land of the Albanians, it was decided to fortify our country in the great capital city and fortress of Partaw. This was done at the command of a man called Gayšak who had been sent by Xosrov as governor and prince of this country, and he enclosed within it the majority of the inhabitants of the surrounding cantons and made to oppose the Khazars, strengthening his position by means of an alliance with the nobles of the country and the townsmen. He prepared to observe what would happen to the defenders of the great town of Čołay and the soldiers on the magnificent walls which the kings of Persia had built at great expense, bleeding their country and recruiting architects and procuring many different materials for the construction of the wonderful works with which they blocked [the passes] between Mount Caucasus and the eastern sea [the Caspian]. When the universal wrath confronting us all came, however, the waves of the sea flooded over and struck it down and destroyed it to its foundations at the very outset. Their terror increased at the sight of the ugly, insolent, broad-faced, eyelashless mob in the shape of women with flowing hair[5] who descended upon

[1] For a description of the peoples subject to the Khazars in the tenth century, see P. K. Kokovtsov, *Evreisko-Khazarskaya perepiska v X veke*, Leningrad, 1932, pp. 81–84, 98 ff.

[2] A.D. 628.

[3] The Khazar ruler has been referred to in the previous paragraph but not mentioned by name; it is possible that the passage below (ii. 12, p. 87) which mentions his name (or rather title) was originally to be found preceding the present passage.

[4] Two Turkish titles, *yabyu* and *xayan* (see, for example, A. von Gabain, *Alttürkische Grammatik*, Leipzig, 1950, pp. 309, 350); his son is also called by his title Šat' = *šad* (see von Gabain, p. 336). J̌ebu Xak'an is the *Ζιεβήλ* of Theophanes, pp. 316, &c., and the J̌ibła of J̌uanšēr, *Hamaṙōt patmut'iwn Vraç*, pp. 97–98. It is doubtful whether he was the T'ong che-hou kagan, kagan of the west Turks, mentioned in Chinese sources, as Markwart postulates (*Streifzüge*, p. 496, *Ērānšahr*, p. 247); see E. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue (Turcs) occidentaux*, St.-Pétersbourg, 1903, pp. 255–6. On the difficulty of identifying these personages, see D. M. Dunlop, *The History of the Jewish Khazars*, Princeton, 1954, pp. 30–31.

[5] Cf. description of other Ural-altaic tribes in Markwart, *Streifzüge*, p. 43; see below, ii. 12, p. 87, n. 1.

them, and they trembled before them, especially when they saw their bent and well-aimed bows, the arrows of which rained down upon them like heavy hailstones, and when they saw how they fell upon them like shameless and ravenous wolves and mercilessly slaughtered them in the lanes and streets of the town. Their eyes did not distinguish between the fair, the handsome, or the young among men and women, nor the weak and helpless. They spared neither the lame nor the old, neither did they feel pity, mercy, or compassion for the children who clutched their murdered mothers and sucked blood from their breasts in place of milk. Like fire among straw, they entered in at one gate and emerged through another, and in their wake they left work for the birds and beasts of prey. And gradually the waves moved on towards us. When the commander, the prince who held and defended the town of Partaw, learned of all this, he made to address the garrison force, which had grouped itself in the middle of the fortress on account of intense fear, about what was to be done. He opened his mouth to speak, but in his great terror he was not able to utter a word, for he lost heart and a trembling seized him and his knees knocked. Observing his terror, the crowd clamoured loudly, saying: 'Why have you shut us all in here to await the time when we shall have to give ourselves and our wives and children into the hands of these bloodthirsty beasts? How can we escape and flee before them now that there is such confusion in the town? The murderous foe has advanced to within 3 miles of us.' Then they said to each other: 'Why do we do nothing and make the town our tomb? Let us abandon our goods and chattels and leave, and then perhaps we shall be able to save ourselves.' And as one man they made for the four gates of the city and hastened to escape to the mountains of the province of Arçax. When the enemy became aware of what had happened, they pursued them and overtook a group of them at the foot of the mountain opposite the large village of Kałankatuk' which is in the same province of Uti where I too am from. As daylight was fading, however, they were unable to inflict great harm upon them, but of those who had fallen into their hands, some they killed and others they took back to their camp behind their equipment and wagons and sumpters. And by the mercy of God they ceased to pursue the mass of the fugitives, and during the night they all escaped, as once the Jews across the Red Sea, and descended into the fortified cantons of Arçax. In the same way the prince

Gayšak saved himself and all his family and escaped to Persian territory, but never again could he re-establish himself in the same principality.

After this the floods rose and rushed over the land of Georgia and encircled and besieged the luxurious, prosperous, famous, and great commercial city of Tiflis. The great emperor, hearing of this and mobilizing all his forces, joined his ally, and exchanging royal gifts and presents they greatly rejoiced to see each other.[1] Then might one have beheld the misery of the wretches enclosed in the stronghold as disaster upon disaster came upon them! Since the time in store for them had not yet come, however, it chanced that Xosrov, hearing of the meeting of the two great kings at the town before the siege began, swiftly sent an army to its relief under his eager, brave, and warlike general Šahrapłakan[2] together with a thousand chosen horsemen from his own personal palace guard for the defence of the city. When the townsfolk saw these reinforcements of strong and experienced soldiers, they were reassured and began to mock at the two kings. Although they saw the immense forces of the north and the west surrounding the town like mountains with their four-wheeled balistra and divers other weapons built by Roman engineers with which they unerringly hurled enormous boulders to breach the walls, and although they saw the great bulging hides full of stones and sand with which they caused the river Kur, which skirts one side of the town, to overflow and dash against the wall, they were not at all dismayed; but encouraging one another, they repaired and rebuilt the damaged parts. When the armies of the two kings were exhausted and not a few of their infantry had fallen in battle, the kings conferred, and said: 'Why need we suffer this loss to our forces? Is it not true that if we

[1] Cf. Theophanes, p. 315; Nicephorus, ed. Bonn, p. 78. Chavannes, *Documents*, p. 252, states that Armenian historians refer to the proposed marriage between the emperor's daughter Eudoxia and the Khazar chief mentioned by Nicephorus, but this is not so.

[2] P4, BM, V1, 2 *šarhaplakan*; P2, 3, 5, E *šarhapała*; P1 *šahrapał*; D1 *šhapał*; *S šahr varaz* (!); see forms above, p. 81, n. 1. Theophanes, p. 310 (from translation of Anastasius) shows Šahrapłakan to have fallen wounded in 625 (*cadit autem et Sarablaggas ense vulneratus in dorso*) and he is not mentioned again in Theophanes. He may, however, have lived to fight again and to relieve Tiflis now in 628. Pernice, *L'Imperatore Eraclio*, Florence, 1905, p. 155, mistakenly assumes Patkanean's form Шарапара *Shargapaga* (= *Šarhapała*) to refer to a different general (**Shargapāk*). I now think the forms *Šahrapał*, &c., to be scribal truncations of *Šahrapałakan* rather than representations of a supposed alternative Iranian form postulated by me in *Byzantion*, xxi, pp. 316–17.

tie up the strong man, we may plunder his house as we wish?'[1] The zealous emperor Heraclius arranged what was to be done, and he said to the man who had come to help him: 'Return in peace for this year with your army, for I can see that you were reared in a cool climate and will be unable to endure the coming of summer in the sweltering land of Asorestan in which the capital of the Persian king lies, on the great river Tigris. When next year comes and the hot months have passed, return in haste so that we may carry out our plans. I shall not cease to fight the king of Persia and menace and harass his land and people, and I shall arrange things so cunningly that he will be slain by his own subjects.'

When the townspeople learned of their weakness and exhaustion, they waxed still more arrogant and began to parody the defeat. They fetched a huge pumpkin upon which they drew the image of the king of the Honk', a cubit broad and a cubit long. In place of his eyelashes which no one could see, they drew a thin line;[2] the region of his beard they left ignominiously naked, and they made the nostrils a span wide with a number of hairs under them in the form of a moustache so that all might recognize him. This they brought and placed upon the wall opposite them, and showing it to the armies, they called out: 'Behold the Emperor, your King! Turn and worship him, for it is J̌ebu Xak'an!' And seizing a spear, they stuck it into the pumpkin which caricatured him before them, and they mocked and jeered and reviled the other king and called him a foul sodomite. When the kings saw and heard this, they were furious and indignant, and they stored up hatred and rancour in their hearts, tossed their heads, and swore mighty oaths, vowing that not one soul should be spared from among those who lived in their kingdom until they had avenged themselves of the insults with which they had been reviled. And turning away and hurling threats, they withdrew.[3]

Chapter 12. *The northern armies arrive to help Heraclius*

AFTER that, in the thirty-sixth year of Xosrov,[4] Caesar Augustus [Heraclius] began to consider ways of ridding himself of his great

[1] Cf. Matt. xii. 29.

[2] *yōt*, from *ἰῶτα*.

[3] See Juanšēr, op. cit., pp. 97–98, for a differing (and doubtless less accurate) account of the siege and fall of Tiflis in which there is no mention of the siege being raised by the arrival of the Persian army.

[4] i.e. June 625–June 626, probably summer 626; see Introduction, p. xiii.

sorrow and shame. During this period he united under him the entire domains of the Romans and summoned the army to help him breach the great Mount Caucasus which shut off the lands of the north-east, and to open up the gates of Čołay so as to let through many barbarian tribes and by their means to conquer the king of Persia, the proud Xosrov. He equipped and instructed one of his nobles named Andrē, a capable and intelligent man, and sent him with promises of immense and countless treasure, saying: 'If they will help me by their zeal, I for my part shall undertake to satisfy the thirst of these bestial, gold-loving tribes of hairy men.'[1] When the viceroy of the king of the north (*yaǰord ark'ayin hiwsisoy*) who was second to him in kingship (*erkrord t'agaworut'ean nora*) and was called J̌ebu Xak'an[2] heard this and considered the promise of great gifts and the loot to be had by attacking all the countries subject to the king of Persia, he replied with great eagerness: 'I shall avenge him of his enemies, and shall arise and go in person to his aid with my brave army. I shall satisfy his demands by war with sword and bow in accordance with his desire.' Then, to confirm the treaty, he sent the same nobleman back with a strong, élite force of cavalry and skilled archers, about a thousand in number, and they made swiftly for the gates of Čołay, ignored the garrison and army of the king of Persia stationed at the great gate and swooped down like eagles upon the great river Kur, and sparing none who came to meet them, made their way over the lands of Georgia and Egeria and cut across the great sea up to the royal palace.[3] They entered into the presence of the great emperor Heraclius, swore mutual oaths each according to his own law, and received their instructions from him concerning their expedition which no one suspected.

At the beginning of the thirty-seventh year [of Xosrov],[4] the

[1] *gisawork'*; see above, ii. 11, p. 83, n. 5; cf. Theophanes, p. 232, on the surprise of the people of Constantinople at the sight of the pigtails of the Avars or pseudo-Avars.

[2] The same is said of Ziebil by Theophanes, p. 316 (*δευτέρῳ ὄντι τοῦ χαγάνου τῇ ἀξίᾳ*); see Dunlop, *The History of the Jewish Khazars*, p. 28.

[3] See above, p. 78, n. 4.

[4] *i mtanel amin eresnerordi eōt'nerordi*. Patkanean, p. 110, translates, or rather interprets, this phrase as though it read *i lnul amin* . . . , 'at the end of the thirty-seventh year', i.e. summer 627, which is the probable date; see Baynes, *BZ* xxi (1912), p. 121. *i mtanel amin* can only mean 'at the beginning of the year', however, and as it stands MD's phrase would indicate the summer of 626. See Introduction, p. xiii.

king of the north[1] sent the promised army, appointing his nephew, whom they call Šat' in honour of his princely rank among them, as its leader.[2] He came and raided all the regions of Albania and part of Atrpatakan, putting many Christians and heathens to the sword. Who can estimate the number of those whom he took prisoner? Establishing their camp on the river Araxes, they sent an envoy to the great king Xosrov informing him of their alliance with the emperor and of their marching to his aid. The texts of their messages to each other ran as follows: 'If you will not retreat from the king of the Romans and surrender to him all the lands and cities which you have taken by force and return all the prisoners of his country now in your hands, together with the wood of the Cross which all Christian nations worship and honour; if you will not recall your troops from his territory, the king of the north, the lord of the whole world, your king and the king of kings, says to you: "I shall turn against you, governor of Asorestan, and shall repay you twofold for each evil deed committed against him. I shall swoop upon your lands with my sword as you descended upon his with yours. I shall not spare you, nor shall I delay to do to you what I have said I shall do." ' When the great king Xosrov heard all this, he rose up like a raging torrent, like a lion against its hunters, like a bear bereft of its young. Thus was he; and though he saw them united and risen against him, in his cunning he did not reveal that he feared him or sought to hide from him, but proudly and reproachfully replied: 'Go and tell your king, my brother Xak'an, that your house has been honoured and respected for ages by my ancestors and myself as that of our beloved brother, for we were allied with each other through our sons and daughters. It was unworthy of you to be paralysed and to allow yourself to be perverted by the words of the hothead[3] of the Romans, a slave who belongs to me.' The messenger (*turkan*)[4] returned to his own country.

The emperor took his army and marched against the Persian lands, striving eagerly and steadfastly to reach the court of the Persian king. When the king of the Persians saw that the matter had not been settled and that Heraclius was advancing boldly against him, he took flight and arrived at his own capital, the great

[1] See above, p. 83, n. 4, and Dunlop, op. cit., p. 30.

[2] See ibid.

[3] *ktrič*.

[4] P1, D1, S *turkann*; BM, Q *turuakann*; P5, V1, 2, D3 *turakann*; P4 *drovakann*; E om. Ačařean, *Nor bařer*, i, pp. 36–37, points to NP *turyān* 'guide'; cf. E. Tk. *tūryāq* 'gardien, sentinelle; garde' (Zenker).

Tizbon (Ctesiphon), and evacuated his wives and concubines and children to the far side of the river Tigris. He prepared his army, who were few in number, and summoning them to him, re-formed them and sent them against the emperor. Winning over by means of honours and riches a certain man who was noted at court for his valour, he changed his name and called him Ṙočveh,[1] flattered him, and sent him against the waves [of invaders]. He appointed him commander of the force he was sending, which office, for fear of the king's command, he accepted with reluctance, for he knew that the hastily assembled and weak force of Xosrov would be defeated by the emperor. Once, twice, four times he wrote to Xosrov, warning him thus: 'In consideration not only of my own death but also of the destruction of your army, I would inform you that if you will not help me by the speedy dispatch of an auxiliary army, although I do not fear to die, you will soon learn of my death.' The king ordered the following reply to be written: 'Do not fear them, but fight them and conquer!' His final reply, however, he wrote in great anger: 'If you cannot conquer', he said, 'why should you not die?' Reading this cruel message, the general, in the presence of his troops, raised his hands to the sun and the light, and cried: 'My gods, judge between me and my merciless king!' And he and his army joined battle with the Greeks, and they were scattered like dust in a hurricane.[2] When the Persian nobles saw this further disaster which had overtaken the Persian army, they began to murmur among themselves. 'How long shall streams of the blood of our Aryan countrymen flow on all these battlefields?' they asked. 'How long shall we fear and tremble before this bloody king? How long shall our goods and chattels, our gold and silver be gathered into the royal treasury? How long shall our roads be shut off and blocked to the detriment of the prosperity of many kingdoms and countries? How long shall the souls quake in our bodies and be repressed by his terrible command? Did he not destroy and swallow up like the sea the very best of our comrades, the country's leaders? Did not many of our brothers perish on countless occasions, in hundreds and thousands, by all manner of

[1] i.e. Phl. *rōčveh* 'fortunate'; see *HAG*, p. 70. Theophanes, p. 317, calls him *Ῥαζάτης*; Tabari, ed. Nöldeke, p. 294, *Rāhzādh*; for the change of name, cf. ii. 10, p. 77, n. 4, ii. 11, p. 81, n. 2.

[2] At Nineveh (December 627); see Sebēos, p. 79; Tabari, ed. Nöldeke, p. 294; Theophanes, p. 319; Gerland, *BZ* iii, pp. 366 ff. Later, Razates' army stands between Heraclius and Ctesiphon (Theophanes, p. 324).

torments, some even by drowning, at his command? Did he not take men from their wives and fathers from their sons and send them to distant peoples as slaves and bondmen and conscripts against cruel foes?' This and many like things they whispered among themselves, not daring to utter anything boldly aloud until the time came to take his life. Then one of his trusted household arose, a nobleman, the governor of his eldest son Kawat. Conspiring with him, Kawat had his father and the majority of his brothers murdered,[1] and thus he seized the kingdom of Persia through the planning and guidance of his governor, who inveigled and confused the most honourable suite of courtiers at Xosrov's court. He quickly won the hearts of all for his ward Kawat in order to enthrone him in his father's stead.[2]

Chapter 13. *The murder of Xosrov*

HEARKEN to me a while and I shall tell you in brief of a man's cunning, how and by what means he was able to ensnare in the cage of death the terrible hunter, the lion of the east, at whose very roar distant peoples trembled and nearby peoples melted like wax; how in an instant he stole the hearts of all and fell upon him as upon an orphan, and how, although he achieved all this, he summoned no other king or prince to help him nor arranged for distant tribes and peoples to help his ward against him. He merely sent a secret message to the emperor Heraclius asking him to halt for a few days in the positions he then held.[3] He ordered letters to be written in the name of Kawat to the nobles and the leaders of all the forces[4] of the great court of the kingdom of Persia to the following effect: 'The kingdom has been taken from my father and given to me; be ready with a few horsemen.' These latter he stationed at the head of the bridge over the Tigris, at the town of Veh Artašir opposite the palace of Ctesiphon in which his father was protected by his bodyguard. A herald announced loudly to the right and left of Kawat: 'Whosoever values his life and wishes to live out

[1] Summer 628; Sebēos, xxvii, p. 96, followed by TA ii. 3, p. 95, numbers the sons of Xosrov put to death by their brother Kawat at 40; see Patkanean, *JA*, 1866, p. 202.

[2] Theophanes, pp. 325–6, represents Siroēs (Kawat) as taking the initiative in this affair and commissioning *Γουνδαβουσᾶς*, chiliarch of the army of Šahr Varaz, to come to terms with Heraclius. It is probably to Goundabousas that MD's account refers. [3] Theophanes, pp. 325–6. [4] Ibid., p. 326. 7-8.

his days in prosperity,[1] let him hasten to acclaim the new kingship of Kawat, for he is king of kings!' They opened the doors of the Castle of Oblivion (*Anyušnberd*) and boldly summoned forth all the king's prisoners who had for a long time been shut up in the shadow of death, an immense and numberless multitude, and they said to them: 'Come out, you unfortunate people, tormented by Xosrov, for the gates of life have been opened unto you by the newly-crowned king, his son Kawat!' Their chains smashed, all came out together, and the sound of their blessings rose up to the heavens, for they blessed Kawat and cried 'May the king live for ever!' And mounted on excellent steeds, and galloping hither and thither and reviling Xosrov, they rode to attack him, chains in hand. Many of the palace guards, the king's bodyguard, and the charioteers of the court of Xosrov took their colours and went over to his son Kawat. Those who remained at the court were urged by Kawat's messengers to be prudent and to seize Xosrov or perish. When Xosrov heard the noise and the shouting, he asked those near him: 'What are those noises?' They remained silent, too embarrassed to tell him. The confused sounds of trumpets grew more and more persistent, and again he asked those near him: 'What is that disorderly clamour?' And they replied: 'Your son Kawat intends to reign in your stead, and all run to him. They have taken up a position opposite this city on the bank of the river, and have liberated all those who were detained in the great prison at your command. They are overjoyed and bless him, and call him king.' When Xosrov heard this disastrous news, especially that concerning the liberation of the convicts, he groaned and sighed and moaned, and was sick at heart. Whether he sat or stood, he could neither think nor feel, for he watched the huge army advance upon him. He walked to the gate of his garden[2] and hid among the trees, and his soul shrank and cringed for sudden fear. His eyes saw the merciless sword raised above his head. The soldiers surrounded the palace, and a search-party which came to look for him found him

[1] Ibid., p. 326. 1–3.

[2] Cf. Sebēos, p. 96. The Anonymous Syriac Chronicle published by Guidi ('Un nuovo testo syriaco sulla storia degli ultimi Sassanidi', *Actes du huitième Congrès international des Orientalistes*, Leiden, 1891), says Xosrov hid in a garden with two devoted pages before being found and murdered by Šamṭā and Nēhormizd; see Noeldeke, 'Die von Guidi herausgegebene Chronik, übersetzt und kommentiert', *Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akademie*, phil.-hist. Klasse, Bd. cxxviii (1893), ix. Abhandlung, p. 29.

where he sat in despair; and taking him out of the palace, they put him in a hall[1] called 'the house of the Indians'[2] in a palace belonging to him called Maraspand.[3] When Xosrov learned where he was and who was the owner of the house, he beat his breast, and moaned: 'Woe is me, wretch that I am. How have I been misled by sorcerors who willed me among the Indians, trapped in the village of Maraspan! and behold, all this has overtaken me in accordance with their misleading words and not straightforwardly!' Guarding him that day, they cut off his head with a sword on the morrow,[4] and thus exterminated the evil man.

Having maimed his brothers hand and foot, King Kawat intended to spare their lives by such mutilation, but taking account of many complaints,[5] he put them to the sword. He took the place of his father King Xosrov and was kind and merciful to all the kingdom and his subjects, and he sought peace with his fellow kings. He sent all the men who had been in the prison of his father's court back to their homes and wrote letters to all the regions of his kingdom bidding them live in joy and gladness. He exonerated all localities in his kingdom from all royal tribute and tolls (*harks ew makʻs arkʻuni*) for three years, and endeavoured to act in such a way that no one need gird his sword about him throughout the whole of his reign. But because our sins, committed in unguided and troubled times, must needs inflict a wound upon us, his good intentions were in vain and perished. His life came to an end after seven months, the parricide returned to his fathers, and the kingdom was to be taken from the house of Sasan and delivered into the hands of the sons of Ismael.

Chapter 14. *Concerning Viroy's catholicosate of Albania, and the great tribulations and the mercies of God*

WHEN all had received a pardon for their transgressions from the

[1] *mucin i srah mi.* TA ii. 3, p. 95 has *acin zna i daxtič* 'they brought him to a closet' while Sebēos, xxvii, p. 96, reads *acin dahič anor* 'on y amenait un bourreau' (tr. Macler, p. 85); Sebēos's scribe has confused *dahlič* with *dahič* and his text is to be corrected here, as elsewhere (see above, p. 79, n. 2), on TA. Theophanes, p. 326, says they brought Chosroes εἰς τὸν οἶκον τοῦ σκότου.

[2] P1, 5, S, E *kʻataki hndukn*; BM, Q *kʻataki hondukan*, P4 *Kʻatʻaki huntugan*. i.e. Phl. **katak-i Hindukān* 'house of the Indians'.

[3] See *HAG*, p. 51 (Tabari: *Māraspand*; Anon. Syr. Chron: *Mihraspend*).

[4] Sebēos, p. 96, mentions no delay between the capture and execution of Xosrov. Theophanes, p. 327, states that he was ill-treated for five days; TA, p. 95, 'for some days'.

[5] Cf. Sebēos, p. 96, l. 9.

newly-crowned king Kawat who granted them still more gifts, Kawat treated with especial kindness the prisoners and those who had only been detained at the great court, all of whom had abandoned hope of returning to their own country. All these were speedily set free at his command, and they eagerly returned to the house of their fathers.[1] Among them was the catholicos of the great principality of Albania called Viroy, an intelligent and wise man, strong in words of wisdom and with a tongue which was like the pen of a ready writer when relating words of counsel and sensible words to kings and nobles.[2] Moreover, the humility of his manner of speaking was sweet to the ears of the common people and the masses. He would speak at great length, adapting the discourse of wise men and their parables, and he so disposed, ordered, and embellished the parables of his own mouth that they were like pearls set in gold. He was above all a skilled interpreter of the Persian language, acquired during his twenty-five years of imprisonment at Xosrov's court after he had been condemned with the rebels among the great princes of Albania who revolted against the king of Persia;[3] many of these latter perished, some being put to the sword, others mutilated, and others banished to distant lands. Viroy, however, had fled to the court of the king, where fortune favoured him by virtue of his Holy Cross and threw open to him the way to the queen's palace;[4] she was able, after much trouble, to save his life as a present from the king, but the king, swearing a mighty oath, had firmly resolved never to let him return to his country all the years of his life, but to keep him under arrest at the court. He did not withhold from him what was due to him by virtue of his princely throne, nor did he deprive him of the title of catholicos, but he kept him like some precious vessel, tending him like a swift steed on the day of the battle, right down to the

[1] Cf. Theophanes, p. 327, 12–15.

[2] P1, 5, D1, 2, 3, S, E *i patmutʻiwns xōsiç xorhrdakanaç ew i mtawor xosiç* (*E. xōss*) *tʻagaworakanaç ew mecamecaç*, lit. in narrationibus verborum consiliariorum atque sapientium verborum regalium nobiliumque; BM, Q, P4, . . . *ew i mtavaržutʻiwn govutʻeanç tʻagaworaç ew mecamecaç* 'in the teaching of praiseworthy things to kings and nobles'?

[3] MD implies that this revolt took place twenty-five years before 628, the date of Viroy's release from detention, i.e. in 603, the year in which Chosroes attacked the Byzantine Empire. Details of Albania's actions at this time are lacking; on those of the Armenians, see Sebēos, xxii. Brosset's attempt (*Additions*, pp. 474–5) to link the Albanian revolt with the events described in MD ii. 17 and Sebēos, xi, xii, and xv, is unconvincing.

[4] Queen Širin was a Christian; see Sebēos, iv, p. 45.

time of his emigration. Tribulations and misfortunes and merciless torments at the hands of evil foes fell upon Albania, and God sent him as once He sent Moses from Midian, that he might come and deliver his country and wrest it from the hands of the murderous and licentious people, and rear the few children who remained on earth, one from each family and two from the town. When he had left the palace and arrived at the borders of the land of his birth, he fell down and kissed the doors and the floors of the churches in his diocese everywhere; he shed tears and wept, and on bended knee he watered the earth. Rising to his feet, he took courage and consoled them who were with him, giving thanks to God who had liberated him from the teeth of the lion and had suffered him to see again the roofs of the holy churches. He thought to rest awhile and to indulge his tender love for his homeland after his long exile. Untold grief, labour, and toil awaited him, however, and [the hour when] he would witness approaching doom. For while he, spurred on by his love, journeyed around the various localities of the land where he was reared, the tempest from the north suddenly roared a second time[1] and lashed the great eastern sea [the Caspian]. The savage, putrid beast came down with its bloodthirsty whelp Šat' and fixed its eyes upon the kingdom of Georgia and the city of Tiflis; and there were none of the courageous men previously to be found among them, and the Khazars had the occasion to vent the spite that had rankled within them since the recent insult. Surrounding the town, they fought and harassed the inhabitants, who turned and fought back and for two months worked and strove in vain against the sentence of death which faced them. Fear of the shedding of their blood, a danger which was very imminent, spurred them on. Then the terrible beast roared, and hunting down and slaughtering enough for its brood filled its lairs[2] with game and its forces with loot. Raising their swords, as one man they stormed the walls, and piling one on top of the other, their numbers were so great that they topped the wall. A dark shadow fell upon the wretched inhabitants of the city; the joints of their limbs were loosed and their arms grew powerless. They were defeated. They fell back from the ramparts, terrified as sparrows trapped in the engines of birdcatchers. No one had time to warn his family

[1] Probably spring 629, the 'next year' of ii. 11, p. 86.

[2] P1, 4, BM, Q, S *zmoris*; P5, E *zmōris*. Patkanean, p. 119, translates as *lesa* 'forests', which suggests a reading **zmayris* or a slip on the part of Patkanean.

of the dread disaster, to instruct his beloved wife to care for the fruits of her womb, or to think about their duty as parents. Exhausted with fatigue and terror-stricken, they strove to conceal themselves; some hid on the rooftops and others in the drains, while many made for the sacred refuge of the churches and clung to the horns of the altar. The cries of mothers lamenting for their sons rose up like that of a huge flock of sheep, like that of ewes calling to their lambs. And after them came the merciless reapers, their hands shedding torrents of blood, their feet trampling upon corpses, their eyes beholding the dead fall like a shower of hail. When the wailing and groaning subsided and not a single person was left alive, the Khazars knew that their swords had drunk their fill. They brought the two princes, one the Persian governor and the other a native Georgian, as captives before the king, who commanded that their eyes be put out as retribution for having insultingly represented his image as blind; and with dire tortures he strangled them to death, then flayed the skin from their bodies, stretched it, stood it up, filled it with straw and suspended it from the top of the wall.[1] Then they laid their hands on the chests full of treasure, and the whole army, each man heavily laden, carried it before their ruler and placed it in great heaps and piles. So much was brought before him that his eyes grew weary of gazing upon the immense number of gold and silver talents. As for the church ornaments, vessels set with pearls and jewels, who could ever describe them? When he had sated his lust he ordered the whole booty to be carried away, and setting out with the treasure, he returned home, leaving his warlike forces in the hands of his son Šat' with brave men as his advisers. He ordered them to march to the land of the Albanians and gave them the following instructions: 'If the nobles and leaders of their country come before my son and suffer their country to be my vassal and surrender the towns and fortresses and markets to my army, then permit them to live and serve me. If they will not do this, however, let not your eyes spare any man above the age of fifteen, and you shall keep the boys and the women for me and yourselves as slaves and handmaidens.' The two armies parted company and acted in accordance with his command. They arrived in the regions specified in his instructions and Šat' sent envoys in accordance with his father's wishes to the Persian prince

[1] See J̌uanšēr, op. cit., p. 98, for another account of the fall of Tiflis; see above, p. 86, n. 3.

and governor who was the marzpan of Albania, Sema Vštnas[1] by name, and to the same catholicos Viroy whom we have mentioned above. The Persian would not accept. 'Who are you,' he asked, 'and what is the house of Albania that I should submit to this command for her sake?' And taking his belongings with him, he led many out of the kingdom and fled to the land of Persia. The patriarch of Albania, Viroy, when he heard that a heavy yoke had fallen upon their necks,[2] was troubled within himself, and he distrusted and feared the king of Persia, for on a similar charge of rebellion he had been sent into exile and banishment for many years. He wanted to obey the envoys and to go before the enemy to avert the ruin and destruction of his land. In his shrewdness he wrote a letter to the king of Persia revealing the enemy's threats, saying that if the king would permit it, he would humour the enemy by submitting to him, but that if he disapproved, he would quit the country. While he awaited a reply from the king, he determined to delay the envoys sent by the enemy, and he bribed them with a little silver, deceiving them by the invention of various pretexts. Sometimes he would say: 'I shall summon the principal leaders of all the provinces of the land that they also might join me in formulating a reply to the message from your king.' At other times he would say: 'There is no need for me to await the counsel of the majority, but I myself shall compose a reply with gifts and honours for your king as befits him.' The envoys, however, began to press him. 'Why do you wait?' they said. 'Why do you delay? See, the day appointed for the attack over the whole face of Albania has arrived. We have revealed to you the hidden intentions of our princes and our master Šat'. If you do not intend to comply with his command, make haste to escape and flee, for we ourselves have received honours and gifts from your hands. We fear our god, and we are not able to deceive you and watch the masses of our soldiers raise their hands against you and the people with you and your nation.' While they were speaking thus, a dark fog suddenly enveloped the face of our country, plains and mountain-tops, hills and deep valleys, and not a yard of earth remained untouched in the whole of our land, in town or country, in house or road. Every

[1] P1, S, E; P4, BM, Q *Semavšpnaw*; P5 *Semavštans*, *HAG*, p. 72, suggests that this represents *Všnasp* (note *-p-* in BM, Q); the corruption is surprising, since Všnasp occurs in its correct form below, p. 97.

[2] P1, 5, D1, 3, S *i paranoç iwreanç*; P4, BM, Q, E *i paranoç iwr miayn* 'upon his neck alone'.

mouth cried 'Woe! Woe!'. The shouts of the barbarians did not die down and there was nowhere where the murderous clamour of the evil foes did not resound; and all that occurred on one day at the self-same hour! For they had planned it all in advance and had allotted to the several bands the various cantons and villages, ravines and rivers, springs and marshes, mountains and plains, and all attacked as one man and swallowed up our country at the time appointed. Our land shook from border to border, and the words of the prophet were fulfilled: 'As if a man should flee from the face of a lion and a bear should meet him; and escaping from him, should go to his house and lean his hand on the wall, and a serpent should bite him' [Amos v. 19]. Thus did those days come upon us. For as one might escape from the terrifying lion to fall into the flesh-rending claws of the murderous bear, those who escaped the sword fell into the teeth of famine, and abandoned, paralysed, and broken by starvation, were enslaved against their will as though by the poison of serpents, stung by the sight of the venomous foe. As those ocean waves engulfed us, they pursued our catholicos and overtook him in a rocky, stony place among the mountains, in the village of Kołt'agarak, and he abandoned his baggage and belongings and his store of treasure, mounted a horse, and fled before them. Not one of his retinue was able to accompany him. One of the immigrant (*yapaek*) noblemen of this country, however, a strong, well-built man named Gad Všnasp of a family holding the rank of colonel (*gundapet*) among his people, alone contrived to go with him. The stones and rocks and numerous ravines of the mountains of the fortified cantons of Arçax did not deter the raids of the enemy; our sins made difficulties easy for them. With never a stumble, their swift steeds galloped over the mountain-tops, and the enemy pursued the catholicos and savagely discharged their bows at him. The marvellous grace of the holy cross which he carried with him interposed itself between him and the foe, however, and no hand was laid upon him that day. As the day drew to a close, the fugitives prayed for the darkness of night rather than the light of day, and the road to salvation was that night opened unto the great patriarch and all the survivors. The enemy's envoys came again, and said [on behalf of their prince]: 'Do that which I have already commanded and you and your house and all the survivors of your country shall live; if you refuse, I have commanded you to be seized and brought before me against your will.'

The catholicos summoned before him all the principal sons of the royal family and the nobles of this kingdom, the governors of provinces and the heads of villages, and the priests, deacons, and clerks, and all met at the time appointed in the fortress of Čaraberd. And he addressed them thus: 'Men and brothers! You know yourselves the tremendous afflictions, the fear and the trembling before the insatiable and merciless plague which was sent down upon us on account of our sins and suddenly inundated us. Now we are in doubt and do not know to whom to turn or whither to flee before his countenance. Whether we do as he wishes or not, the day of our death at his hands is still ever present before our eyes. I would like to hear you and be aided by your advice. Answer me swiftly, for the ambassador who has come to us presses me, and he is not of the common people, but is a noble in the enemy's army and the trusted governor and tutor of the king's son Šat'.' When he had said this, they called out with one accord: 'Why do you speak thus, lord, and mock our wretched selves? Is there any of us more wise than yourself, that we should know what is wise and to give advice? How should we be so rash as to attempt to speak words of wisdom in your presence? However, if God who loves mankind will bear with us, do not hesitate to protect us as a good shepherd, and for this we shall protect you in so far as it is in our power to do so.' He said to them: 'If the Lord approves, I do not fear their wrath. Do as I shall now tell you. Let each of you bring as much silver and gold and clothing as he can carry. Do not be niggardly in your hearts, for with our gifts we may be able to soften his countenance.' Thereupon everybody willingly brought these things before him, while he himself took much from his own treasure, whatever was fitting as a contribution to their gifts. He bade the tutor of the king's son come to him, and he asked him the names of the nobles, princes, barons (*naxarark'*), generals, and the chiefs of the various tribes in the entire army in order of precedence, that he might know in what way to honour them with riches. He distributed the things accordingly, having regard to the names of the families; writing these on each of them, he sealed them and ordered them to be carried by bearers and carts. To those who stood there he said: 'I think it proper that you should all—except for the lowest classes—go in person to the foreigners' camp in order that your submission, and mine, should be quite clear to them.' When they heard this, many followed him willingly, but a few were faint-hearted. These

latter he exempted, and he compelled no one, saying: 'Be of good cheer, my sons, and be not afraid. Our guide is the spirit of Truth, the rod of Moses, and the grace of the holy cross of Christ, and they will force back the wide waves of the sea before us.' He started out and walked at their head. When they had passed along the valleys through the mountains and emerged into the fair, even and fertile plain of the province of Uti, they were unable to recognize the place on account of the numberless troops of Šat''s army. As once [the sea around the Jews] in the middle of the Red Sea, so the edges of the innumerable army rose like a wall to the right and left of them all the way to the court of the son of the king. They found him encamped in the same province close to the north of the great city of Partaw among the abundant swamps. There we observed them kneeling on their couches like rows of heavily-laden camels. Each had a bowl full of the flesh of unclean animals, and dishes containing salt water into which they dipped their food, and brimming silver cups and beakers chased in gold which had been taken from the plunder from Tiflis. They also had drinking horns and *ċorom*-shaped[1] utensils with which they lapped up their broth and similar greasy, icy,[2] unwashed abominations. Two or three of them to one cup, they greedily and bestially poured neat wine or camel's milk into their insatiable bellies which had the appearance of bloated goatskins. There were none of our customary cupbearers before them and no servants behind them, not even in the

[1] P1 *ċoromajews*; P2, 3, 5, D2, BM, Q, Ant., E *šoromajews*; P4 *šoromay jews*; D1 *zormajews*; S 1 var. *zoromajews*; S *šerep'alēns* (editorial gloss: *šerep'* 'ladle, large spoon'). According to Mak'ar K'ubua, ['On the Explanation of the Old Armenian Term *šorom*'], *Iberiuli-k'avk'asiuri enat'met'niereba* (*Iberiiskoe kavkazkoe yazykovedenie Akademii Nauk Gruzinskoi SSR*), i (1946, Tiflis), pp. 399–400, the term remains in Mingrelian as ჩორომა *č'oroma* 'a large drinking vessel made of various materials, any large quantity of liquid'. According to Marr, *Texty* i, pp. 66 ff., *šorom* is a Mingrelian word for 'gourd'; he quotes NP شورم 'mountain, hide, ink, quince' (Steingass), 'kind of citron' (Vullers), unattested according to Professor W. B. Henning. Ališan, *Hayapatum*, ii, p. 223, explains the word as a 'water vessel with a long neck', on what authority is unknown.

[2] P1, 2, 5, D1, 3, BM, S (*novin*) *parartakan, saṙoyç*, (*anluay atteliwk'n*); P4, Q *patrastakan* ('prepared') *saṙoyç*; P3, E *parartakan saloyç*; Ališan (*Hayapatum*, ii, p. 223, misreading or amending E) *parartak ansaloyç*. As a noun *saṙoyç* ('ice') does not fit the context, but it seems here to have been used as the equivalent of *saṙuçeal* 'iced, frozen'. The form *saloyç* and Ačaṙean's derivation thereof from Yakut *sāl*, &c. (*Nor baṙer*, 1913, p. 35), are to be rejected, as also the same writer's fictitious verb **saluçanel* 'to wash' based on Ališan's incorrect form **ansaloyç* 'unwashed'.

case of the king's son; soldiers armed with shield and spear, however, kept a careful watch round the members of his court. When they passed [the Albanian delegation] with the gifts of greeting which we carried on our arms behind the catholicos from sentinel to sentinel, they ran before him. They ordered all to step forward and to kiss the ground three times; retaining the others at the second door and taking the gifts from them in their own arms, they led the catholicos by himself to the innermost tent where the king's son sat. Entering his presence, the catholicos kissed the ground before him and gave him his gifts and the nobles gave him theirs. Šat' received them with his own hands and greatly rejoiced to see him arrive with such a multitude, and he ordered him to sit with him in the tent. Examining the face of the catholicos for some time, he said: 'You are my father, and your countenance is like the countenance of God. Why did you hesitate to come to me and thus avoid all that which my armies have now inflicted upon your country? Now that you have come, however, orders shall be issued in my name to all the soldiers in my army to return to their camps, and I shall not rise again to ravage the territory of your country. The whole army shall obey the words of my mouth. I shall swear on oath on the life of my father J̌ebu Xak'an that whatsoever you ask of me shall be granted without fail. You shall order the whole of your principality to return to their homes and the labour of their hands. I shall attack the countries around you and shall rest my army within your borders. As amends for this one destructive raid I shall repay you twofold in men and beast, for my father has received these three kingdoms of the Albanians and the Lp'ink' and Čołay as his royal patrimony for ever.' The catholicos arose, worshipped him, and said: 'We are the slaves of your father and yourself, I and all the inhabitants of this land. Spare us your servants and turn your sword from us that we may serve your father and yourself as we served the Sassanian.' Hearing this, the great wrath of the beast-like people and their nobles and soldiers was allayed by the power of the holy cross in the presence of the catholicos, and they became as tame as lambs and like God-fearing hosts towards beloved brothers and like-minded fellow citizens and neighbours. They invoked the name of the catholicos like the name of their prince, calling them 'the god Šat'' and 'the god Catholicos',[1]

[1] *astuac Šat' ew astuac kat'ołikos*. This use of the word for 'god' is reminiscent of the Iranian form of address which spread to Central Asian Turks (cf. Tk. *beg* from Ir. *baga*); cf. the trial of Afshīn, accused of allowing himself to be addressed by the equivalent of Ar. *ilāh al-ālihat* (see Ṭabarī, iii. 1310–1; E. G. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, London, 1938, pp. 433–4).

and they called those who had come with him 'beloved brothers'. They were commanded to sit and eat with them, and putting before them vessels full of unclean meat, they bade them kneel in accordance with their customs. They did not wish to eat, however, since it was now the time of the Lenten fast, and the Khazars respected the wishes of the servants of God, removed the meat, and placed before them a few thin slices of bread fried in a pan. Giving thanks to God, they blessed it and broke it, and ate it to humour them. Rising after the meal, Šat' ordered the catholicos to be sent on his way with his people that he might return to the city and live in his own house at ease. From that day on he was often a visitor to their camp, both when they were on the move and when they were resting. When they had grown to trust him, he grew bolder and began to ask favours. He said to the son of the king: 'Since we are your slaves, I should like to say something to your own benefit, my lord. Let not the country be ravaged and laid waste, but send trustworthy officials to all localities, to the hamlets and fields, fortresses and villages, that all the inhabitants of this land may return and work without fear, being safeguarded by these officials against any violence on the part of your troops. Since yourself and your father gained this land as your vassals by your fairness, let your nobles and yourself lend an ear to my entreaties and order the release of all those taken prisoner by your soldiers and detained in your tents, men and women, girls and youths, that fathers may not be separated from their sons and mothers from their daughters. If they are frightened, they will scatter over the land like tender hinds before those who hunt their calves.' In this way, with mild and suppliant words, he inclined their hearts to his requests. The order was issued by the son of the king to all his troops to release all the prisoners and not to dare to prevent their return or to conceal them; if they did this, their punishment would be most severe. He sent among them distinguished men called *t'nduns*[1] with eight men, servants of the catholicos, and entering

[1] P4, BM, Q *t'nduns*; P1, 5, D1, 2, S *t'ndiwns*; E *t'ndeans*. The Turkish title *tudun* 'Dorfvorsteher und Wasserverteiler' (Brockelmann, *Mitteltürkischer Wortschatz*, (Budapest, 1928 i), p. 216; see also A. von Gabain, *Alttürkische Grammatik*, p. 345—*tutuŋ*; Chavannes, *Documents* p. 263, n. 4; G. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, ii, p. 267—*Τουδοῦνος*; Dunlop, *The History of the Jewish Khazars*,

their camps, they searched their tents and pavilions. They retrieved young boys who had been hidden among the baggage or the harness of the pack-horses and took them away; and none dared resist them. Assembling them in large bands, they brought them to the palace of the catholicos where, caring for the little ones like a grandfather, he clothed the naked, fed the hungry, and sent them all back to their homes. The grace of the Lord was with him and aided him in all his thoughts and deeds, and his name was honoured among the enemy ranks until the day God visited his people and delivered them from their hands.

Chapter 15. *Concerning the severe famine, the plague and the bondage, all of which came to pass simultaneously*

It is fitting and proper for me to recall the troubled times of famine when the voracious rat swarmed between our feet, ate up the plants, and devoured the fruits of our fields. Converging together, the three terrible generals Famine, Plague, and Death concertedly and concurrently spread great terror abroad, wounding mercilessly and slaughtering widely. One was not suffered to partake of the viaticum for the forgiveness of one's sins, for Plague enthralled, Famine choked, and Death strangled. Oh, how bitter the times, how wretched our eyes which beheld such great tribulation. The unhappy survivors, terrified and startled at the mere rustle of a leaf, begged the mountains to fall upon them. In this time of trouble, even in the days of the Lenten fasts, they greedily and openly resorted to the meat of unclean carrion and the roots of plants, and they stripped trees of their bark and twigs and chewed them; but the consumption of such things did not give them strength. The wretched people were even forced to grind and eat the dried pips of grapes, and masses of starving men gathered together and fell upon such people, wrenching their food from them with threats; thus they also created havoc among the poor people. Hungry eyes were ever greedily watching for a chance to rob their neighbours. I heard the following from reliable men: 'We saw some people eat dead limbs, old ox-skins, grimy pouches,[1] and they even cut the

p. 174. For the intrusive *-n-* in the first syllable of the Armenian forms, cf. Arm. *menk'enay, ansiz*, &c.

[1] P1, 4, 5, BM, Q, D2, E *zparks cxakers*; S . . . *cxakirs*. Meaning obscure. Patkanean, p. 130, reading *cxakir* and interpreting this as 'smoke-bearing' (*cux*

shanks from boots and boiled them and ate them.' We can find nothing to compare with our misfortunes anywhere with the exception of those which occurred during the destruction of Jerusalem by Vespasian and Titus. We walked upon the corpses of those who had died of starvation and which, black and swollen, covered the fields as thick as stones on the bed of a river. The word of the prophet was fulfilled: 'He shall be buried with the burial of an ass' [Jer. xxii. 19] and 'the bread of mourning shall not be found in his house' [Jer. xvi. 7]. More people perished when the green shoots began to appear than during all the days of winter. Whosoever is still capable of hearing and comprehending, let him know that towards the end of the famine a disease unlike any other known illness spread throughout the land. Those who were stricken by this disease became insane for the space of one month or two. They ground and gnashed their teeth, rolled their eyes, did not realize that they were sick, and did not know how to ask for water. Some, like frantic madmen, rose naked and shameless from their bed, talked to the walls, and beat the air, while others ill-treated their nurses. Although the illness was severe—it was called lunacy—death did not follow. The victims grew black and thin, their bodies wasted away, their limbs were paralysed, and their hair and beard fell out. I lamented and mourned these deadly events for many days, praying to All-merciful God to bring these unbearable afflictions to an end. I Viroy, catholicos of Albania, Lp'ink', and Čołay, shall refrain from mentioning all the other ugly things—the blackness of the bodies, the baldness of the heads, &c.—for here again the meaning of the prophet will be clear: 'I will bring sackcloth upon all ages and baldness upon all heads and will make it as a mourning for a loved one' [Amos viii. 10]. When God had caused all his wishes to be fulfilled, He remembered them as he remembered Noah in his ark among the torrent of waters. He had mercy upon them and granted their requests; He sent fullness to their bodies, satisfied the hungry, and filled the needy with good things that, enjoying these things, they might multiply their praises to God.

'smoke', *kir* root of *krel* 'to bear'), translates as *meshki kopchěnye* 'smoke-blackened pouches', adding (n. 1) that this probably refers to goatskins impregnated with naphtha (*burdyuki, napitannye neft'yu*).

Chapter 16. *Concerning the miracles which avenged us of our enemies*

IN the second year of Artašir,[1] son of Kawat, king of Persia, whilst he still ruled the kingdom as he pleased, the power of the prince of the north increased and he spread fear and terror over the face of the earth before him. He sent his officials to various craftsmen skilled in the use of gold and silver, wrought-iron, and copper. He exacted heavy tribute from the merchants and fishers of the great rivers Kur and Araxes, and didrachms (*didrak'mayk'*) in accordance with the cadastre of the Persian kingdom. When he had examined all the produce of the land and satisfied himself that nothing remained hidden from him, he decided to overrun the land of Armenia and subject it and its neighbours. Choosing about 3,000 warriors from his army and a prince of theirs called Čorpan T'arxan,[2] a bold and bloodthirsty man, he sent them on ahead to prepare a safe path for him and to collect information concerning the proud Persian general who still held Palestine.[3] After re-equipping his entire army, he followed a short distance behind. When the prince joined up with his vanguard in Armenia, he learned that the Persian general was marching against him, and he went to earth like a serpent, lying in ambush and watching the road before him. News reached Šahrvaraz of the intentions of the enemy and the place where their fearless vanguard were drawn up to meet him. Making an announcement in the midst of his troops, he suggested that they should depose the Sassanian family and make him king. 'Look to yourselves, O house of Persia,' he said, 'and know that you are nothing without me, who destroyed the son of Rome. Now I have turned towards the east and have commanded my brave men to trample beneath the hoofs of their steeds the Goths[4] who have

[1] The second year of Artašir III began on the 17th of June 629 and ended on the 27th of April 630, the date of his assassination (Ṭabarī, ed. Nöldeke, p. 386).

[2] The Turkish title *tarkan, tarxan* (see Chavannes, *Documents*, p. 19, n. 2; p. 239, n. 2; Dunlop, op. cit., p. 72).

[3] According to Sebēos, xxviii (tr. Macler, p. 85), Šahrvaraz had remained in the west on the fall of Xosrov and had made peace with the Greeks, his army surrendering their positions in Chalcedon (Theophanes, pp. 323–4); in no way can he be said to have 'held Palestine' at this time. Šahrvaraz reigned as king of Persia for two months in 630.

[4] P5, D1, 2, 3, S *godestansn*; BM, Q, E *godestans*; P4 *gotestansn*; P1 *gogestansn*. E, p. 132, note, suggests that the Goths are meant here, but the *-d-* is then unexpected; moreover, the Persian general would be speaking very loosely in

descended from the north. That suckling of theirs, [who is but] a plaything in [their] hands[1] but in whom they put their trust, pressing him to their bosom like a child born to their house,[2] will not protect them. They have fallen, vanquished by a few. Knowing you to be depopulated, the Khazars have set their hearts upon inheriting the glories of the land of the Aryans.' Having spoken thus, he proudly addressed one of the brave men of his army called Honah, the leader of the troop of Arab horse.[3] 'Rise,' he said, 'go through the army, choose a band of ten thousand men, and march against them. Do not wait to choose a battlefield, do not draw up your forces in battle array, and do not draw your sword from its scabbard that they may brag to their fellow tribesmen that they were defeated by the sword. Trample them beneath the hooves and chests of your horses, and scatter them like dust in the wind! So do unto them that having destroyed their front you may advance and penetrate as far as the king and his camp, with whom alone you shall do battle. When you have utterly annihilated them, call the battlefield the "grave of the enemies". I have spoken.' When the one proud man heard this from the other he was flattered, and proudly taking his leave, paraded his army and marched against the foe. When the enemy learned of his approach they laid an ambush on the road to await his arrival, and half their army was drawn up ready to meet them. When the two armies clashed, the Khazars immediately took flight, but only to appear later on both flanks to challenge them; and they surrounded them like fire attacking rushes on the banks of the lake of Gełam [L. Sevan]. They spared not a single one of them, and not one was left to bear the ill tidings of the fate of so many men. Their pride had been

calling the Khazars Goths, though he might possibly have used the term to denote any species of northern barbarian. Ačaṙean's suggestion (*Nor baṙer*, 1913, p. 11) that the word is a plural form of *godi* 'leprous, scurvy' is worth considering; nominal plurals in *a-stan* occur in Middle Armenian (see Karst, *Historische Grammatik des Kilikisch-Armenischen*, Strassburg, 1901, paragraphs 252–5), but there appear to be no other examples of adjective plurals in this form, though such would seem to be theoretically possible.

[1] P1, 5, E *xałalik i jeṙin*; P4, BM, Q *orum ew edealn ē xałalik i jeṙin*, 'in whose hand a toy is placed'; S om.

[2] N. Adontz (*Anahit*, 1939, 4–5, p. 28), pointing to Nicephorus's testimony that Heraclius, at the time of his interview with Ziebil, took the latter's young son on his knees, takes the 'suckling' to refer to Šat'. It is certain that the 'suckling' is Artašir III, who succeeded to the throne at the age of 7; Sebēos, xxviii (tr. Macler, p. 88), also calls him a child.

[3] P5, BM, Q *Tačkajieaç*; E *Tačkajioç*; P1, D1, 3, S *Tačkaçeaç*; P4 *Tačkaceaç*.

turned against them, for Man is not strong by his own strength, but it is the Lord who makes his enemies weak.

When the Khazars had plundered the corpses and collected the ornaments of their horses, their lances and gold-plated swords, and precious robes skilfully dyed and fashioned by the Greeks, they shared the whole pile among themselves. In accordance with their custom, they slit the ears[1] of the handsome horses and cut their nostrils, docked their mane and forelock, and cut the tail, skin and bone, down to a cubit in length, thus disfiguring them to make them look like pack-mules.[2] When the arrogance [of the Persians] had been duly punished, every warrior, every man who wore a sword at his side, realized that the authority of kings and the power of generals was as naught before them. Then the cauldron of the north[3] turned his countenance against his sons and fought against his own kin, visiting the fullness of his wrath upon his young and punishing one [crime] a thousandfold and two, ten thousandfold. I have begun to speak of the fearful and terrible retribution meted out to our enemies, and my thoughts search among many texts to find an example of a deed which might outdo the drownings of Pharaoh, the raising of Moses' hands like a cross to smite Amalech, the massacres of Gideon, the titanic valour of the son of Jesse, the terrible fear which seized the Assyrians in the night, and the like. But let us pick up the thread of our story again, for the Lord performed great things for us and we have not yet considered them. The Khazars advanced through the passes of the three kingdoms of Armenia, Georgia, and Albania, and when they halted there, terrible news arrived from the destructive lion of the north, Jebu Xak'an himself, to his ravenous whelp Šat': 'Brigands have fallen upon me,' he said, 'and you shall never see my face again, for I did not consolidate my position but imprudently dissipated myself over kingdoms unsuited to me. My pride has thus caused me to fall from my exalted position. Do not stop to destroy the people who are with you, but endeavour to escape from them that they, hearing what has happened, may not make haste to prepare[4] [your ruin]. I am lost and become childless.'

[1] P4, BM, Q *zakanjs*; P1, 5, S, E, D2 *zlanjs* 'chests'.

[2] See above, p. 31, n. 3.

[3] Cf. Jer. i. 13, 14.

[4] P1, 4, 5, D1, 3, BM, Q, S *patrastel k'ez*; E *patařel zk'ez* 'tear you to pieces'.

Chapter 17. *The Mihrakan family, being of the clan of the Sassanian Xosrov, become the rulers of Albania*

We have learned from reliable and truthful historians[1] that the brothers Bndoy and Vstam, kinsmen of the Persian king, rebelled against King Ormizd, father of Xosrov, and slew him, and together with one of their kinsmen followed their nephew Xosrov, son of Ormizd, fled from the hands of Vahram, called Čobin, and came to Maurice, king of the Romans, among the Greeks. Making Xosrov his son-in-law,[2] Maurice sent him back with great forces, and he came and retrieved his kingdom. After many years he sought to avenge the blood of his father Ormizd and destroyed his two uncles Bndoy and Vstam and about sixty men of the same family. Then Mihran, a kinsman of Xosrov,[3] took flight, united under him cer-

[1] All the details given here concerning Bndoy and Vstam are contained, along with many more, in Sebēos ii, iii, who is possibly one of the historians referred to by Movsēs. To explain the discrepancies in this chapter between the accounts of the two writers, Akinean, 'Movsēs Dasxurançi (koçuaç Kałankatuaçi) ew ir Patmut'iwn Ałuaniç', *Handēs Amsorea*, 1953, p. 167, assumes interpolations and falsifications on the part of Movsēs, but this will not explain all the differences. Movsēs, for example, gives Vahram his more usual epithet Çobin, while Sebēos, followed by T'ovma Arcruni, calls him Vahram Merhewandak; nor does Sebēos, like Theophanes for example, call Xosrov the son-in-law of Maurice (below, n. 2). The 'reliable and truthful historians' must comprise writers other than Sebēos, and it is by no means certain that Movsēs knew the work of Sebēos at all; in fact, where they treat of the same events, as in the campaigns of Heraclius, their versions differ considerably. For the struggle between Ormizd IV (578–90) and Bndoy, Vstam, and Vahram Çobin, see Theophanes, pp. 263–6; Theophylactus Simocatta, p. 155, Sebēos, ii, tr. Macler, pp. 11–15; T'ovma Arcruni, ii. 3, p. 86; Ṭabarī, ed. Nöldeke, p. 270.

[2] Cf. Theophanes, p. 266. 13: *τεκνοποιηθεὶς ὁ βασιλεὺς Μαυρίκιος Χοσρόην τὸν βασιλέα Περσῶν . . .*; Theoph. Simocat., p. 210. 16. This information is not in Sebēos and there is no evidence of MD's being able to consult Greek sources in the original.

[3] Is this Mihran, the supposed founder of the Albanian Mihrakan dynasty, the Mihran Merhewandak of Sebēos, ii (tr. Macler, pp. 5–6), i.e. the kinsman of Vahram Merhewandak Čobin of the family of Mihrān who lived at the time of Xosrov I and fought Vardan Mamikonean in 572 (see Grousset, op. cit., p. 244)? If so, MD will have confused Xosrov II with Xosrov I. A nephew (sister's son) named Mihran is attributed to Xosrov II by Yovhannēs Mamikonean (ed. Venice, 1889, p. 16), but he is said to have been killed by Vahan the Wolf. Akinean (*HA*, 1953, p. 168) points to a certain Mihran, so-called governor of Aran, mentioned as living *c.* 540. But it seems fruitless to seek a historical identity for this Mihran. If one can put any trust at all in the genealogy of the Mihrakan family as presented below (one has some sympathy with the view of Akinean, ibid., who thinks it 'invented by the compiler, if not by the author of the Juanšēr romance') any of the above-mentioned personages would be too recent to be the ancestor of a dynasty counting seven generations (? cf. Baruch, vi. 3) from Mihran to Juanšēr (see Akinean, ibid.), and perhaps including the

tain regions of the country, and passed into Albania taking about 30,000 families with him. He arrived in the province of Uti near the great city of Partaw and made to enter the land of the Khazars and join these enemies [of Persia]. King Xosrov's dignitaries criticized the king, however, and said: 'Why do you not concern yourself for your kinsman Mihran who, for fear of you, has gone over to your enemies and stirs up trouble against you?' And he immediately wrote a humble letter to Mihran, saying: 'My brother, my true brother (*harazat*), do not depart from me in enmity. If you are not content to live with me, make that country which your feet have reached and where this letter finds you your home.' The message reached Mihran in the hilly canton of Gardman, and he took it, read it, and was filled with joy. Observing the temperate nature of the region, he was content to dwell there, and he built a town there in his name, calling it Mihrawan.[1] When spring drew nigh, he went to the upper regions of the canton of Gardman, and cunningly inviting twelve of its chieftains, put them to the sword, and took possession of the country. A long time afterwards, he passed away in peace. He had a son Armayēl, who begat Vard, and Vard begat Vardan the Brave (*K'aǰ*), who built the fortress of Gardman[2] in three years. With treachery in his heart, he invited the Eŕanšahiks, the ancient native Armenian (*haykazean*) family about whom we have written above in this history,[3] as if to a

Vardan K'aǰ who was living in 488 (see below, p. 108, n. 2). There seems no reason to seek the origin of the Mihrakan dynasty in the Mihrān family of Persia (see Markwart, *Skizzen zur historischen Topographie und Geschichte von Kaukasien*, Vienna, 1928, pp. 24 ff.). MD implies that Mihran, as a blood-relation (*azgayin* here, *harazat* below) of Xosrov II, was of Sassanian origin, as indeed the Mihrakans are said to be in the title of the present chapter and at iii. 22, p. 225 (here called *Mihrean*) and as they are implied to be below (p. 109, n. 6); or did MD not know that the Mihrāns were supposed to be Arsacids (cf. W. B. Henning, 'A Farewell to the Khagan of the Aq-Aqatārān', *BSOAS* xiv (1952), p. 510)?

[1] M. Barxutareanç, *Patmut'iwn Ałuaniç*, i, pp. 91, 90, n. 3, 'identifies' this with Ał-su (Ak-su) 'whose inhabitants are all Persian'.

[2] A Vardan K'aǰ is mentioned as one of the participants in the synod of Ałuēn (488) at i. 26, p. 54 and called 'lord of Gardman'; at iii. 22, p. 225, there is an attempt to distinguish between the VK' 'who believed in Christ' and the VK' 'who built the fortress of Gardman'; on the position of Gardman, see Markwart, *Skizzen*, p. 24.

[3] i. 27, p. 55; also below, iii. 16, p. 209; iii. 19, p. 214. This is the name of the Albanian dynasty (see the eponym Aŕan at MD i. 15, p. 24), not the title ایرانشاه; cf. Markwart, *Streifzüge*, 457 d (where the form *Aŕonsahik* is to be corrected to *Aŕansahik*), *HAG*, p. 39; Dowsett, 'A Neglected Passage in the History of the Caucasian Albanians', *BSOAS* xix (1957), p. 462.

banquet. Preparing for them the bread of perdition, he gave it them to eat, and at that feast of their own blood he beheaded sixty men. He spared only Zarmihr Eŕanšahik,[1] the husband of one of the daughters of his family. In this way they came to rule Albania, and they subjected the savage Caucasian people to their rule also. He died in peace. He begat a son Vard, and Vard begat Varazman, the princess Šušik and Varaz-Grigor,[2] the first prince of Albania, who was consecrated by Viroy, catholicos of Albania. Varaz-Grigor had four sons, namely, Varaz-P'erož, J̌uanšēr, Yezut-Xosrov, and Varazman. May this [list] be found useful.

Chapter 18. *The feats and valour of the great prince J̌uanšēr, second son of Varaz-Grigor, who demonstrated his bravery and courage among the Persians*[3]

FOUR years after the death of the great Xosrov, king of Persia, his son Yazkert became king.[4] The race of Hagar, an alliance of twelve tribes, grew powerful, and approaching from a distant clime in a bold and terrifying mass like a tempest blowing over the desert, they crossed the land of Asorestan and swiftly marched against the king of the Persians.[5] Thereupon those generals and princes, lords and indigenous nobles of the various regions subject to the kingdom of Persia recruited an army to march against the foreign foe. At the time of these events, Varaz-Grigor, prince of Albania, being himself a noble of the family of Artašir,[6] saw his second son J̌uanšēr[7] to be brave, dignified and well-formed. On his face a

[1] See iii. 20, p. 217; Dowsett, ibid.; for name, cf. *HAG*, p. 41, to which may be added that occurring at iii. 8, p. 194 and iii. 10, p. 198 below.

[2] Perhaps the Varaz Gagel of the Georgian Chronicle (tr. Brosset, p. 228); see Markwart, *Skizzen*, p. 24 (where the date 627 given for the consecration of Varaz-Grigor is to be amended to 628 or after, since Viroy was not released by the Persians before 628).

[3] The style of the chapters concerning J̌uanšēr has much in common with that of Yovhannēs Mamikonean whose work, in the words of Grousset (*Histoire de l'Arménie*, p. 277), consists of episodes 'visiblement empruntés au lyricisme des bardes plus qu'à la véracité des chroniqueurs'. Akinean (*HA*, 1953, p. 169) considers the J̌uanšēr passages a mere romance (*vēp*); see below, p. 129, n. 4.

[4] Yazkert III (632–52), the *grandson* of Xosrov II.

[5] Cf. Sebēos, xxx, tr. Macler, p. 98.

[6] Artašir Papakan, son of Sasan, founder of the Sassanian dynasty. This is another indication that the Mihrakans of Albania were of Sassanian origin (see above, p. 107, n. 3).

[7] According to Vardan, xxxv, ed. Venice, 1862, p. 67, tr. Muyldermans, p. 85,

downy beard had scarce begun to bloom; he was beloved of his father, and swift to strike as an eagle, was skilled in the art of war. J̌uanšēr, who was successful in all his undertakings and was trusted by his father, had resolved to assist him in the practical affairs of the country, to be on equal terms with the great and to serve before kings. This being so, Varaz-Grigor thought it best to send him, of all his sons, to represent him at the court of the king. Receiving a battalion from his father, he arrived at the common meeting-place of thousands before the prince of Siwnikʻ and the sparapet of Armenia.[1] When the general Ṙostam[2] saw him, he looked upon him as a brother or a son, and he was liked by all. The general took many thousands of horsemen and proceeded to Ctesiphon to King Yazkert, and brought before him the young J̌uanšēr. The king forthwith laid his hands upon his head, praised him, and named him field-marshal (*sparapet*) of Albania. Crossing the river Tigris, J̌uanšēr arrived in the canton of Veh Kawat, and proudly putting his trust in his immense and innumerable army, he haughtily expected to trample all the southerners underfoot. He camped before them on the other side of the Dead Water.[3] When the troops advanced,[4] the *sparapet* of Albania met them and carried off a brave victory. Slaying some at the very outset, he waxed most valiant, for he knew that the Lord was with him. After a few days, in the month of Mehekan, on Christmas Day,[5] 30,000 cavalry and 20,000

n. 2, p. 88, J̌uanšēr of Albania and his sister, who was the wife of Grigor Mamikonean, governor of Armenia 662–85, asked Grigor for the jawbone of St. Gregory on behalf of the Albanians; thus J̌uanšēr is represented as Grigor's brother-in-law. MD ii. 38 (below, p. 152) states, however, that it was under Varaz-Trdat, J̌uanšēr's son, that the relic came to Albania.

[1] Grigor, prince of Siwnikʻ, and Mušeł Mamikonean (Sebēos, xxx, tr. Macler, p. 99).

[2] See Sebēos, xxx, tr. Macler, pp. 88–89; Markwart, *Ērānšahr*, pp. 112–13.

[3] The Lake of the Euphrates, Ar. *al-Baṭiḥa* or *al-Nadjaf* (Markwart, *Ērānšahr*, p. 165).

[4] P4, 5, BM, V1, 2, D3 *taksatkʻ elanēin* (Gk. *ταξάτοι* 'troops'—Du Cange); all other forms (S *pʻaxatkʻ* . . . 'they fled'; S1 var. *takaw arkʻ* . . . 'gradually the men'; P1, S1 var. *tasn hatkʻ* 'ten sections'; E *aspatakkʻ elanēin* 'they attacked') are corrupt. Cf. *takʻsat* (Ephrem) given as the equivalent of *ταξεῖδιον* by *HAG*, p. 384.

[5] Neither the month nor the year in which the battle of al-Qādisiya was fought is known for sure (see Caetani, *Annali dell' Islam*, iii (Milano, 1910), pp. 629–713), the various sources dating it between 635 and 638, in all of which years Christmas Day (6 January) fell in the month of Mehekan. MD seems to suggest (below, p. 113) that seven years elapsed between this battle and that of Nehāwend (642); his implied date is thus 6 January 635 (or 636 if 'seven' is a round figure for six and a half). One must consider, however, that the figure 7 (like the 11

infantry marched against them. The sons of Hagar, coming from Katšan[1] [al-Qādisiya] with a host of cavalry and 20,000 infantry, sped forward with serried shields and began the battle against the Persian army. The *sparapet* of Albania, however, entering the fray with his brave men, struck down two of his opponents and withdrew with three grievous wounds, while his steed was wounded in four places. The enemy pursued him with frenzied hostility to the river where, still fighting back, he jumped in and swam across. His clothes were smothered in gore and his weapons in mud. Seeing that the nobles and soldiers were all of them mown down like grass,[2] he hurried away to the court of the king. When the king was told of his feats of valour and his severe wounds, he ordered that he be given a palace and that he be tended by the royal physicians; and he was greatly fêted in the land. When he had recovered, he came before the king, who placed his hands upon his head, spoke well of him for all to hear, and bestowed upon him the insignia of a general, with clarions to herald him and two golden spears and two shields chased in gold which were always borne before him. He honoured him above all others. He invested him with a belt of gold studded with pearls, a sword of wrought gold,[3] bracelets for his arms, and set a coveted crown upon his head. He gave him also leggings[4] sewn with pearls, and as many pearls again [on a collar] round his neck. They clothed him in a dark tunic[5]

said to be the number of J̌uanšēr's wounds) may be more mystical than historical. M. Streck is not right in saying that 'one thing is certain, that the battle was fought in the spring' (*Enc. Isl.* (1927) s.v. *al-Ḳādisiya*); *Ḫuwāndamir* dates it in the last days of 14 H (des. 13 February 636) or first days of 15 H (inc. 14 February 637), Belādhurī at end of 16 H (des. 22 January 638), which makes a date of 6 January possible. Caetani (p. 687, n. 1) thinks that MD implies a date of 6 January 637 (see below, p. 115, n. 2), which he (wrongly) says would not agree with any Arabic source. I, like Caetani, 'non so che valore reale la data armena possa avere', although, couched as it is in this romanticized part of the *History*, one must suspect it to have very little.

[1] For the name, cf. *Katešan* in Xorasan (*Armenian Geography*, ed. Patkanean, p. 23; *Kadšan* in Markwart, *Ērānšahr*, p. 138).

[2] See Sebēos, xxx, tr. Macler, p. 99.

[3] D1 *oskesatarean* (*oskiʻ* gold', *satar* 'operarius, lanificus'—*NBHL*); P1 *oskesatarayn*; D3 *oskesatrean*; P4, 5, BM *oskrestean*; E *oskestreay*; S *oskesarayn*.

[4] *žangapans*; see *HAG*, p. 149.

[5] *NBHL* (i, p. 375) *arǰnatʻoyr* (amended from *arǰmator*) *stors*; P4, BM, V1, 2 *arǰmatʻor stors*; P1 *arǰmatʻars, tors*; S *arǰmatar* ('perhaps *arǰnatʻoyr*') *stors*; D1 *arǰmatʻoys tors*; P5, Ant. *arǰmatorsmors*; E *arǰnatʻoyr mors. stors* (nom. **storkʻ* from *stor* 'bottom, under, or lower part' must be another form of *stornak* '*ὑποδύτης*, subucula, tunica' (*NBHL*); the form *mors* (which Malxaseanç defines as a 'valuable article of clothing of undetermined nature' with obvious reference

with four hems, and taffeta and silken Persian coats[1] with fringes[2] of spun gold. They ordered him to be given villages as his vassals and rivers full of fish. All these things were seen to be, in the words of the scriptures, 'the glorious fruit of righteousness' [Heb. xii. 11]. After receiving such royal honours, he made even greater advances. For in May (Media) and in Ahmatan (Hamadan)[3] two generals were fighting each other in bitter enmity, and he struck down and prostrated one of them in the presence of all, thus inducing them like a wise man to keep the peace; and for this the general Xoŕazat[4] received him with great esteem.

In the eighth year of Yazkert[5] the enemy rose again and besieged the king in Ctesiphon for six months. General Xoŕazat and the *sparapet* of Albania marched with their armies against the enemy. Lifting up his eyes, the brave J̌uanšēr sallied forth with 3,000 men, and driving them back by his vigorous assaults, he crossed the river and did not permit them to cross the Tigris for six months while the king was taken to the great Dastakert.[6] In a terrifying mass the enemy swarmed upon him, and from there they transferred the king to Bekłał;[6] but the children of the south, resembling in their tremendous violence the waves of the sea, streamed along in pursuit. Standing firm for a few days, the *sparapet* of Albania did not cease to march against them and to demonstrate his personal valour for all to see, and many a time did he bring back and throw before the king the heads of the foreign foe. After this, while the armies battled one against the other, the Lord visited the army of the Persians with a cruel defeat at the close of their days.[7] The command came from on high and destroyed their kingdom. Now the

to the present passage) is due to a misreading of transitional bolorgir ⟨ս⟩ *t* as ⟨մ⟩ *m*. On the colour of this garment, see Exod. xxvii, 31 and Philo, *Questions and answers on Exodus, translated from the Armenian version . . . by R. Marcus*, Loeb, Suppl. II, 1953, p. 167, ii. 117: 'Why is the double hyacinthine stole called "undergarment"?' (Arm. *ənd*ēr *krkin kaputakeay patmučann stornak asi*).

[1] S. *grats*; V1, 2 *grasts* 'beasts of burden' (!); BM, Q *drasts* 'gardens' (!); D2, 3, Ant., E *drawts* (?).

[2] *p'aruaz*; see *HAG*, p. 255.

[3] *May* can refer to Nehāwand (see Markwart, *Ērānšahr*, p. 20); otherwise *May* = the Arsacid provinces Lower Media and Kambadene (ibid., p. 18), and Ahmatan = Upper Media (ibid., p. 71).

[4] See Sebēos xxx, tr. Macler, p. 99, *HAG*, p. 43.

[5] 839/840, too late for the battle of Ctesiphon (637); see, for example, P. Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, London, 1937, p. 156.

[6] Dastakert (Theophanes, p. 321. 16 *παλάτιον, τὸ ἐν Δασταγέρδ*) and Bekłał (id., p. 320. 25 *παλάτιον, τὸ ἐπιλεγόμενον Βεκλάλ*) were royal fortresses to the north-east of Ctesiphon; Sebēos, xxx, tr. Macler, p. 99, says the king fled south.

[7] The battle of Nehāwend (642).

brave J̌uanšēr fought for seven years in those painful battles until, having received eleven grievous wounds, he took leave of them and retired to the province of Atrpatakan, where the Persian general, in consideration of his glorious renown, urged him to take his sister to wife. J̌uanšēr, however, not wishing to take a wife from among the unbelievers, returned to his own country. At this his affectionate father felt great joy, like the patriarch Jacob upon seeing the first-born of Rachel. With ardent heart he embraced his son, enhancing the colour of his face with the silver bloom of his hair.

Chapter 19. *J̌uanšēr, sparapet of Albania, and his victories over the Persians; the death of Yazkert and J̌uanšēr's submission to the emperor of Greece*

THE most illustrious J̌uanšēr returned with great renown from the Persian wars and assumed the leadership of the entire house of Albania in accordance with the king's command. Taking his army and his father with him, he retreated above the city of Perozapat (Partaw), and the Persian warriors marched upon our country on account of J̌uanšēr's revolt. While the vanguard of the enemy speedily invaded the lower regions of the same province, he hastily took up arms, and with his own hand he struck down a certain Gełmazgi[1] (Gēlānī), the leader of the army, many of whose men he and his soldiers vanquished with their bloodthirsty swords. Having taken many prisoners and horses and mules and much booty he retreated, and the Persian army pursued him relentlessly. Another encounter took place between them in the hills, and on that day also he was favoured by the Lord and prevailed. Thereupon, however, the bad news[2] reached him that the Persian army had occupied the town of Peroz (Partaw) and taken his father and brothers captive. Truly, I say, he raged like a bear bereft of its young, and he swiftly returned across the lands of his fathers' patrimony to the other side of the river Kur, to the province of Kapičan.[3] There he gave battle, not rashly, but cautiously. Fighting

[1] P5, D1, 2 *Giwłmnazgi*; P4, BM, Q *Giwłmazgi*; S *Gelmnazgi*; P1 *zGiwłon azgi*; E *Gialmnazgi*; S 1 var. *Gełanazgi*. See *HAG*, p. 35.

[2] S *lur* (probably a gloss) *guži*; BM, Q *gedur* (?) *guži*; P4 *getur guži*; P1, 5, E, S 1 var. *degur* (?) *guži*.

[3] Or Kambečan; see Markwart, *Ērānšahr*, p. 116; Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen*, p. 211.

fearlessly, he received a wound in the head, but with the aid of the mighty right hand of Christ he showed himself so fierce and powerful that not one of the enemy remained unslain. After this he went and rested on the borders of Georgia in glory and splendour. There the most honourable Atrnerseh, the prince of that country, who held three titles of the Roman Empire,[1] came and personally bandaged his wounds, holding the victory won by his great valour a cause for rejoicing. They concluded an inviolable treaty of peace, and J̌uanšēr, taking the Georgian army to help him, advanced swiftly into the province of Uti and put all the Persian soldiers to the sword wherever they were found. He likewise attacked the town of his winter residence and reclaimed and liberated his twin blood-brothers. After this the Persians began to pour more troops into Atrpatakan, but he was not dismayed, for it was his nature to be bolder in the face of many than in the face of few. In two battles in the province of Šakašēn he slew many chiliarchs and their armies with revengeful blows. Of these innumerable and savage victories of J̌uanšēr over the Persians it is unnecessary to tell. Seeing them, the nobles of the lands of Armenia and Georgia wished to choose him a wife from their own kin, but he chose a wife from the Aruičan family, the daughter of the ruler of the Sisakanian land, which made the Siwnians eternally glad. The Persian general, hearing of his great defeat at the hands of J̌uanšēr and the annihilation of his forces, became converted to a love of peace, and he wrote a letter which he sent through the great prince of Siwnik' swearing a mighty oath to induce him to be his ally. It was with difficulty, however, that the intermediary persuaded him to be reconciled and make peace with the Persians. He sealed [the

[1] Probably the Georgian prince Atrnerseh who, according to J̌uanšēr, xv, p. 97, continued the siege of Tiflis with Ziebil and received the town from Heraclius; he is said to have ruled as *mt'avar* from 619 to 639 (see M. Brosset, *Histoire de la Géorgie*, i, pp. 229–31). Atrnerseh is mentioned as a Georgian prince at the beginning of the seventh century in the *Book of Letters* (pp. 133, 138, 169); with his 'three titles of the Roman Empire', cf. Kiwrion's statement (ibid., p. 165) that 'the king of kings is likewise a lord (*tēr*) of the Romans', and the inscription discovered by Brosset concerning an *Atrnerseh hiwpat* (hypatos) (Brosset, *Rapports sur un voyage archéologique dans la Géorgie et dans l'Arménie*, St. Pet., 1850, i, pp. 48–50; *Histoire de la Géorgie*, i, p. 232, n. 1; Akinean, [*Kiwrion, Catholicos of Georgia*], Vienna, 1910, p. 33). If 639 is correct for Atrnerseh's demise, then J̌uanšēr's desertion of the Persian cause would have taken place after the battle of Ctesiphon (637) and before the battle of Nehāwend (642); this would explain the apparent vigour of the reprisals taken by the Persians, who were brought extremely low by the latter battle.

treaty] solemnly, however, and returned, while the *sparapet* of Albania came back to his own country with his mother and brothers. Then, considering the decline of the great Persian Empire, the independence of the first eastern kings and his own incomparable royal splendour, he resolved never again to entrust the fate of his principality to another. A Persian general, however, boldly sought to rule independently over each region, and J̌uanšēr and his brothers retired to their native canton. The Persian general treacherously summoned his father to him on some pretext, however, so as to make him his vassal, and he sent troops and appointed governors for the province of Albania. Now what will the brave J̌uanšēr and his elder brother do, they who, undaunted[1] and thirsting for revenge, gird on their swords, mount their swift steeds, and taking a short cut, surround the town of Peroz-Kawat in the vicinity of which they hide in an ox-stall in a woody place and take their first sleep? At sunrise they galloped in like young lion-cubs, and they seized the town and punished cruelly whomsoever they found there and in other regions to be under the command of the Persian general. With their keen armies they inflicted great defeats upon the Persians until they surrendered their father safe and sound.

And in the twentieth year of Yazkert the Persian Empire was utterly destroyed, that is, in the thirty-first year of the worldwide wars of the Hagarites and the fifteenth year of my lord J̌uanšēr.[2] Thus did the Tačiks (Arabs) invade the lands of the north and east. They compelled the tribal chiefs to surrender the fortresses to them and took their wives and children as hostages to safeguard themselves against rebellion. When J̌uanšēr beheld the cruel scourge from the south, he deceived them for a short time and then crossed to the other side of the river, where his fearless heart flamed and burned to do battle with them again and to deliver his father. But his father turned him from that design and voluntarily submitted to the enemy. The most wise J̌uanšēr concluded

[1] D2 *čyanjnaṙuk'* (? *č-yanjn-aṙu-k'* 'not accepting'); P5, D3 *čaṙanjnołk'* (? for *č-aṙanjan-oł-k'* 'not yielding'); E *čyanjaṙu*; P4, BM, Q *čaṙyanjnołk'*; P1, D1, S *zaṙanjnołk'*; S 1 var. *zaṙancanołk'* (*aṙançanem, zaṙançem* 'deliro'—*NBHL*).

[2] The twentieth year of Yazkert's reign was 651/2, the thirty-first year of the Hegira 24.8.651–11.8.652; J̌uanšēr's first year is thus implied to be 637/8. Since he is said to receive his rank of *sparapet* immediately prior to the battle of al-Qādisiya, this would imply for the latter a date of 637/8 (see above, p. 110, n. 5).

a treaty with the Armenian general[1] and was encouraged to become a vassal of the Roman emperor, and entering the brotherly union, he wrote to the king of Greece as follows:

Chapter 20. *J̌uanšēr's letter to Constantine, king of Greece*

'ALL-CONQUERING lord, powerful and merciful king of the Romans, Constantine Augustus,[2] appointed by God ruler of land and sea, J̌uanšēr, *sparapet* and prince of Albania, together with his vassal land of the east, worships you with humble greeting. May it please your Christian lordship to accept this new offer of vassalage from a distant people that divine virtue may be bestowed from your great dignity and glory upon our humble selves who seek a crown [from you].'

When the letter was brought to the most pious emperor, he was full of joy and exceeding glad, and he gave a great banquet that day. He immediately ordered treaties to be drawn up so as to ensure mutual peace. He bestowed upon him very great gifts: a throne carved in silver with a gilded back, robes of spun gold, and the sword with pearl-studded scabbard which he himself wore. He made him a first patrician,[3] and ordered the titles of patrician,[4] consul,[5] ex-praefect,[6] general,[7] and illustris[8] sufficient for 12,000

[1] The Albanians, like the Georgians and Siwnians, are mentioned as the partisans of T'ēodoŕos Ŕštuni, who delivered Armenia to the Arabs in 654, by Sebēos, xxxv, tr. Macler, p. 135. J̌uanšēr's father clearly followed suit, while his son appears to have joined Mušeł Mamikonean and Constans II. Albania itself firmly resisted the emperor, and was pillaged (see Sebēos, tr. Macler, pp. 134–5; Grousset, op. cit., pp. 301–2).

[2] Constans II (641–668); for the various forms of his name, see Sebēos, xxxv, tr. Macler, p. 131, and Ostrogorsky, *Geschichte des byzantinischen Staates*, München, 1940, p. 71.

[3] *p̌roton patrik—πρωτοπατρίκιος;* rare Byzantine title; cf. Theophanes, ed. de Boer, p. 380. 29–30, Grenfell and Hunt, *Oxyrhyncus papyri*, vi. 137. 6.

[4] *patrik—πατρίκιος.*

[5] *hiwpat—ὕπατος;* Justinian decreed that no more consuls should be designated after 542 and this decree was not formally abrogated until the ninth century by Leo VI; with this occurrence of the title under Constans II, cf. C. Courtois, 'Ex-consul', *Byzantion*, 1949, p. 40.

[6] *apahiwpark'os—ἀπὸ ὑπάρχων*; the usual form of this title was *ἀπὸ ἐπάρχων* (Schlumberger, *Sigillographie*, p. 506).

[7] *stratelat—στρατηλάτης.*

[8] *elist—ἰλλούστρος;*; see Adontz, *Anahit*, 1940, p. 22, where the word is compared to the form *ełustr* occurring in an inscription of 626 (K. Kostanean, *Vimakan taregir*, p. 1); cf. Schlumberger, op. cit., p. 518.

men to be sent that J̌uanšēr might bestow them upon whomsoever he wished. He also removed a piece of the redeeming cross of Christ which he always wore on his bosom and sent it to him.

Chapter 21. *The text of [Constantine's] letter*

'To you, Lord J̌uanšēr, lord of Gardman and prince of Albania, ex-consul[1] and first patrician and governor of the east, the grace and the mercy of the redeeming cross of divine power and a loving greeting from our august kingdom. We have received your letter of greeting, which has revealed to us your love of the worship of God, and we are glad that you and your eastern country have accepted to be our vassal, in return for which we and our sons shall treat you and your descendants with affection and sincere and indestructible love from generation unto generation for ever.'

When he heard the contents of the letter, J̌uanšēr rejoiced with wonderful joy; he rendered thanks above all for the arrival of the all-powerful cross, and falling before it, he glorified God, the giver of all good things. Then the catholicos of Albania came forward with the bishops and men of note from among the people bearing flowers, and they lauded the glorious gift. Thereafter time was not spent in immoderate speech or drunken orgies or comedies,[2] but in discreet entertainments. Shutting himself in, he passed the night without sleep, meditating on the good of his country. When the morning star arose, he put on his royal robes and sat on the throne. The doors were opened and the soldiers entered bearing their arms and ranged themselves about him on either side; the nobles entered reverently in order of rank, and righteous judgement and incorruptible justice was meted out to the people in his court. He occupied himself not with licentious pleasures, but with national problems all day long. He prudently brought the wild people around Mount Caucasus to order, and from the borders of

[1] *apahiwpat—ἀπὸ ὑπάτων*; cf. C. Courtois, op. cit., pp. 54–55: 'on peut remarquer que le nombre d'ex-consuls semble se multiplier au cours du septième siècle et surtout que ceux-ci ne sont plus nécessairement des personnages de première importance.'

[2] *katakergeçut'iwnk'*; cf. G. Goyan, *2000 let armyanskogo teatra*, Moscow, 1952. Such entertainments were frowned upon by the Church; see above, p. 52, n. 3.

Georgia to the gates of the Huns and the river Araxes he ruled as absolute monarch.[1]

Chapter 22. *The emperor of Greece comes to Persia and summons J̌uanšēr*

In the nineteenth year of his reign[2] Constantine, grandson of Heraclius, arrived with numerous forces and chosen horsemen and Greek nobles in the kingdom of Persia, having already wrested away the lands of this kingdom, and he carried with him the radiant light of the world, the cross of Christ. He dispatched one of his officers to ask J̌uanšēr to meet him, and he made haste and arrived in the land of the Medes in the presence of the great emperor who, hearing of his arrival, came to meet him in person in the village of K'ungr,[3] welcomed him, and commanded him at the same time to put off the mourning he wore on account of his wife's death;[4] and they dressed him in royal robes. Emboldened by this, he asked the emperor for a piece of the cross of the Eternal King, and taking the sun of salvation, the emperor cut off a piece in his presence and gave him the cauterizer of sins, saying: 'May this be a tower of strength for yourself and your sons against the Enemy!' [cf. Ps. lx. 4 = A.V. lxi. 3]. Seeing him receive such heavenly gifts, the Armenian nobles and General Hamazasp[5] were very jealous, but

[1] A gross exaggeration; in 654 T'ēodoros Rštuni was appointed by the caliph governor of Armenia, Georgia, Albania, and Siwnik', as far as Mount Caucasus and the gates of Čołay (Sebēos, xxxv, tr. Macler, p. 139).

[2] i.e. 659/660. Constans II entered Armenia (and not Persia) only once, in 654 (see Grousset, op. cit., p. 302); Brosset, *Add. et Ecl.*, p. 476, therefore suggests amending this passage to read 'in the thirteenth year of his reign', but as Adontz, *Anahit*, 1940, p. 27, rightly says, the synchronisms up to ii. 26, p. 123, n. 2, show that MD meant, though wrongly, the nineteenth year of Constans II.

[3] Adontz, *Anahit*, 1940, p. 26, identifies this as Kangavar and suggests that MD has confused Constans with Heraclius. 'Heraclius', he writes, 'in attacking Ctesiphon in 627, passed by Hamadan (according to Theophanes, p. 317, 27, who calls the town *Χαμαηθᾶ*) . . . K'ungr was the first large locality on his route.' *Χαμαηθᾶ*, however, was not Hamadan, but lay to the north of Arbil; see Minorsky, 'Roman and Byzantine Campaigns in Atropatene', *BSOAS* xi (1943–46), p. 224. K'ungr, called here a village, is possibly al-Kinkiwar (الكنكور) in Ādharbaidjān (see Markwart, *Ērānšahr*, p. 24), although the poor historicity of the present passage hardly warrants explanation. As Adontz says (ibid.), 'the aim of the author is not only to exalt the honoured throne of the beloved prince but also to proclaim the exalted origin of the holy relic [of Gardman]'.

[4] See ii. 19, p. 114; his first marriage therefore lasted from *c.* 638 to *c.* 659.

[5] Governor of Armenia, *c.* 656–61 (see Grousset, op. cit., p. 304).

he cared nothing and afterwards took his leave of the benevolent lord, who dismissed him not as a servant, but as a brother of equal rank in the presence of the nobles of Persia and Ayrarat. Amazed at God's indulgence towards him, he returned to his own country.

Learning of his approach, the joyous patriarch of Albania, Uxtanēs, with a large multitude, blessed him in a loud voice, saying: 'Lo, the Lord hath sent us from Sion a staff of strength, and through him we shall prevail over our enemies!' The wise J̌uanšēr considered the question of finding a place of rest for the cross of the Lord, and he founded a house of God in his native canton of Gardman-berd, richly ornamenting it for the pleasure and glory of Christ the Lord. When spring came the esteemed prince of Albania prepared to meet the emperor again in the town of Vałaršapat.[1] The king commanded the nobles of the palace and the notables to go to meet him, and thus did he enter into the emperor's court like a king. When he saw him, the emperor greeted him with a fond embrace and assigned him a place above all the nobles. That day was a blessed holy day for him, surrounded by all manner of gold and silver ornaments. Constantine ordered whatever was placed on the royal table to be offered to him, a gesture which amazed his fellow guests. Over and above all this, he girt about him the royal belt of his valiant grandfather Heraclius and his grandmother Nicetas (Nikita),[2] gave him his own cloak and two banners, and conferred the rank of patrician upon his young sons. All the villages and regions which had belonged to the first kings of Albania he gave to him as an inheritance from generation to generation, and he appointed him to govern all the eastern people as king. No thought of the emperor was concealed from him, and listening to his many intelligent counsels, the emperor was amazed and complimented him, saying: 'You and I are alike in heart and soul; return in peace.' Thus honoured, he joyously returned to his own country where he commanded all to build, sow, prosper, and live in peace. He constructed many palaces, and by the grace of God he did not lack whatever men find fair and beautiful. Even

[1] See above, p. 118, n. 2. On the only occasion when Constans visited Armenia, he stayed in Karin and Dwin; in MD's account 'Dwin has been confused with Vałaršapat and Karin with K'ungr' (Adontz, *Anahit*, 1940, p. 26).

[2] The name of Constans' grandmother was Eudocia, Nicetas being a man's name; the inanity of the above assertion stands out even in its context. A first cousin twice removed of Constans was named Nicetas (Adontz, *Anahit*, 1940, p. 25).

the king of Turkestan (*T'urk'astaneayç*) sought peace and friendship with him and presented him with chosen steeds, male and female slaves, and various skins of reptiles. From the provinces of Asorestan and Atrpatakan, from the province of Ayrarat and the kingdom of Georgia, even from India too, men came to see and hear him; his intelligence and wisdom and his humble love for all those who came to him became a wonderful legend in every land. All this he owed to naught but the Rood of Life, which rendered his name famous throughout the entire universe, and the blessing of the provident Father.

Chapter 23. *The Khazar raid and their defeat at the hands of J̌uanšēr beyond the river*

AFTER this, when two years had passed,[1] the Khazars entered the kingdom of Albania intent on plunder and pillage, and the prince of Albania took up arms, and going before the all-conquering cross and falling on his knees, sang the psalm of the king of Israel: 'O Lord, take up Thy sword and buckler and stand up to help me, and stop those who come upon me' [Ps. xxiv. 2, 3 = A.V. xxxv. 2, 3]. Taking his army, he crossed to the other side of the great river Kur and joined battle with them. And his prayer was not ignored, for though his fleet-footed steed stumbled and threw him in the thick of battle, he was not killed, for the Lord succoured him and raised him up. And when he rose, he slew his opponent. That day he carried off a great victory, and he said to the barbarian tribe: 'Depart, go back through the gate of Ċołay and do not return, for the Lord hath prevented your rising!'

Chapter 24. *The completion of the temple of the Lord in the fortress of Gardman and its dedication by J̌uanšēr; it is blessed, and the cross of Christ is erected in it*

DURING the two years after the expulsion of the Khazar forces[2] and the victory of J̌uanšēr, the well-proportioned edifice of the temple in the name of God was completed, and when he had built it, J̌uanšēr fell down before the everlasting light and prayed: 'Now

[1] Apparently 661/2.

[2] Apparently 661/2 to 663/4.

come, O Lord, to Thy place of rest, which I have built in Thy name as a shelter for the quickening rood.' Then he took the catholicos and his bishops and all the *naxarars* and journeyed for a day to the north of the town of Peroz-Kawat, and falling on his knees, prayed first in a monastery which he had built in a deserted region between two cantons, well equipped as a resting-place both for himself and others who came that way. And he issued a firman concerning it, saying 'Let no one [who wishes] to stay here be [considered] unacceptable by you.' Departing thence with a great multitude, he entered the canton of Gardman on the eleventh day of the month of Araç,[1] and taking the cross of light, he put it to rest in the house he had built for it, and there he knelt down and with bitter contrition and tears he prayed to the Creator of all things, saying:

Chapter 25. *J̌uanšēr's prayer*

'O LORD, since Thou didst forgive Thy most sinful servant and grantedst him the cross from which, fastened by nails, Thou didst hang on earth, send into this temple the grace of Thy holy spirit, and adorn and beautify it as Thou didst the temple of Solomon with the spiritual cloud of Thy glory as it were thick darkness.[2] Make it a house for the prayers and supplications of those who dwell on the shores of the sea in the east, that whosoever worships Thy countenance with offerings in this place may be heard by Thee from on high and his prayers be granted. If this entire land of Albania come with one accord to glorify Thy name in this house, mayst Thou by the divine power of the cross close the gates of the enemies and stop the marauders in their battles. Command a fructifying wind to blow through this land that the vine and the fig-tree and all the plants of the fields may bear fruit in abundant fertility and remain undisturbed in this beloved land. Send not me, J̌uanšēr, empty-handed and confounded away, for I am weighed down with sin and have willingly placed all my trust in the succour of Thy almighty cross, O Lord, like a poor sick man in a good physician. This house which I have built, make it a roof over my head on the day of battle. Humble him who exalts himself above me. Make my sons and daughters free of all fear of evil and strong in all

[1] In 112 A (663/4), the 21st of November 663.

[2] Cf. 1 Kg viii. 12.

things. And Thou, O Lord God, who hast watched over me since my childhood, saved me from the temptations which surrounded me, who gavest me gold and silver and male and female slaves in abundance, suffer me to watch over my dominions like a king; receive me Thy servant with kindness and pour over my descendants the wisdom of following in Thy paths and fearlessly submitting to the emperor of Greece whom Thou hast crowned.[1] And on the day of the Resurrection, when the invisible succeed the visible and the sound of trumpets calls the sleeping from their sleep and the fiery hosts assemble before Thee, Almighty King, from the ends of the earth, then, through the guidance of Thy cross in which I have placed all my trust, have mercy upon me and my wife Xosrovanuš,[2] my forefathers, especially my silver-haired father Varaz-Grigor and my mother Goriduxt, my brothers Varaz-P'erož and Yezut-Xosrov, and my children. Do not harshly punish and severely chastize me, J̌uanšēr, who have shed tears like the famous David, for what is my blood worth to Thee if I fall into corruption? Deliver me from eternal temptations and in return for the temple which I have built in Thy name on earth, prepare, O Christ, for me, a sinner, a spiritual abode in the mansion of Thy Father.'

When he had finished this prayer, he offered up the gifts prepared for this wondrous service, and he swore an oath of salvation: 'Let this be the place where my sons and myself may lay the first fruits before the Lord and receive His mercy.' Then he descended with this good and holy news into his winter residence, the town of Peroz-Kawat, and he rested a whole year in peace.[3]

Chapter 26. *J̌uanšēr's alliance with the Huns and his conclusion of a treaty of friendship with his enemies*

THE following year, while the brave J̌uanšēr still sat in peace upon his throne, the winter solstice came[4] and the king of the Huns invaded with many thousands of horsemen. Although J̌uanšēr had

[1] He is soon to submit to the caliph, however (see ii. 27, p. 125).

[2] His second wife? His first died *c.* 659 (above, p. 118, n. 4), while in 665 he is to marry the daughter of the king of the Honk' (below, ii. 26, p. 123), apparently his third.

[3] Apparently November 663 to November 664, or rather December 664 (n. 4).

[4] *jmernayin eŀanaki hasarakut'iwn* 'the middle of the winter season'. 21st December 664.

previously commanded the kingdom to be guarded and fortified against him, the Hun invaders took prisoner and held captive in their camp beyond the river Kur and on the banks of the Araxes not only the autochthonous population, but also those from the provinces of Ayrarat and Siwnastan [Siwnik'] who had come to afford their flocks and herds winter pasture. Then the king of the Huns desired to look upon the countenance of J̌uanšēr, and he sent his brothers to beg him to see him and to become friends. It did not even occur to the brave and valorous lord to be afraid or to consider which of the kings of Persia had ever been able to behold the king of Turkestan in person, but falling fearlessly down before the cross of salvation, he said: 'Though I walk through the shadows of death, I will fear no evil, for Thou, O Lord, art with me' [Ps. xxii. 4 = A.V. xxiii. 4]. Setting off, he went to them with his royal retinue, and the king of the Huns came to meet him in a boat, and proceeding to this side of the river, he stopped at the river bank beside the deep and gently-flowing water. They concluded a peace treaty to put an end to disagreement between them and above all that they might be bound together as two like-minded brothers. Sealing the *dawil*,[1] they each returned home. But what feat did my stout-hearted lord perform the next day? With seventeen men he crossed to the far side of the river to the camp of the Huns where he took the king's daughter to wife and brought back a herd of 120,000 sheep, 8,000 horses and oxen from the Huns' booty, and no less than 1,200 prisoners. He returned home in peace with a joyous heart and wept before the Lord, calling upon him and saying: 'I have not trusted in my bow, but Thou, O Lord, hast saved us, and in Thee I boast, Lord' [Ps. xliii. 6, 7, 8 = A.V. xliv. 6, 7, 8]. Then he ordered trustworthy men to distribute that which he had retrieved of the plunder, to each according to his share. This was done. And lo, [this occurred] two years before his thirtieth year[2] as ruler and sparapet, for three quarters of which time, from his youth to the middle of his manhood he performed praiseworthy, world-famous, intrepid feats of valour, first among the Persians and then at the gates of the Huns,

[1] Ačaŕean (*Nor baŕer*, 1913, p. 12) suggests Ar. *taḫwīl* 'endorsement' (not 'treaty' as Ačaŕean). Ar. *qawl*, *aqāwīl* 'dictum, pactum' (Vullers), cf. NP *qawl nāme* 'treaty' (Steingass), would better fit the sense; ղաւլ (pr. *ɣavəl*) occurs in later Armenian: e.g. *ŧawl anen mēkal gišerun* (A. Č̣ōpanean, *Hayrēnneru burastanə*, Paris, 1940, p. 136).

[2] i.e. 664/5 (see above, p. 115, n. 2).

with the result that he was known to east and west, north and south, Aryans and non-Aryans. And now I shall undertake to tell you in what way the grace-giving cross caused light to shine on him from darkness and enabled him to pluck flowers from fire.

Chapter 27. *Here you shall find what great honours the King of the South afforded the Prince of the East*

THE eternal mountains and the unfathomable, tempestuous seas are subject to the Word of God, for it is His command from on high when He contemplates the earth that causes it to tremble; when He approaches the mountains, smoke issues forth, and even now towering hills are flattened and levelled by the countenance of the Lord, and the furious transports of the waters of the surging deep withdraw within themselves. Thus was the terrible glory of the Persian Empire humbled, and its proud, unlimited heights sucked into the abyss. The winged voices[1] of the deep were silenced by the fury of the winds, and the thorns of the field, flying through the air, came and dwelt upon the waves of the wide ocean; for as the multitude of waters flood the earth with their furious waves, so the kings of the Romans with their massed armies spread their multitudes thickly over the entire world. Now, however, the exalted power of that throne, thus dissipated, passed away, so that the forests of men in its control were caught in the shadow of that which choked like Gideon's briers and which the scions of the tyrants, stifled among them, could not shift the least degree. When the ram of the west saw that the Lord had withdrawn his aid from his sword and that the savage wild boar grew fierce and ground his horn, he interpreted this to be the fulfilment of the time foretold by the prophecy and promise to Abraham: 'the hands of Ishmael will be against all men, and the hand of all men against him' [Gen. xvi. 12], and 'before him, a devouring flame, and behind him, a burning flame' [Joel ii. 3]. Then the emperor of the Romans took the remnants of his army and hastened across sea and land

[1] BM, Q *t'ewawor jaynk' xoroç* 'winged voices of the deep' (? cf. Ezek. i. 24–25); S (*łrecin*) *t'ewawork' aṙ jayn xoroç* 'all winged things (birds) were silent at the voice of the deep' (reading *aṙ jayni*). Little sense can be made of the other readings: P2, 5 *t'ewawork' aṙjaynk'*; P3 *t'ewawork' arjanç*; E *t'ewawor arjank'* ('winged idols'); S 1 var. *t'ewawork' arjagank'*; D1 *t'ewawork' aṙ jaynk'*; P4 *t'ēwatr jaynk'*.

and passed within the borders of the distant isles of the west. This was the sixth year of the kingdom of the southerners to the land of Asorestan [Syria], for leaving the land of the handmaid [Hagar] they established their seat of government in Damascus.[1] He who settled there began to suck the marrow of the land around him, and to him [the caliph][2] were given strong and extensive powers, political wisdom, lenient authority, and human kindness, and with these four qualities he ruled the four corners of the earth. Seeing the emperor of the Romans rendered powerless and weak by the king of the south, who consumed his populous markets and towns like a flame, the great prince of the east J̌uanšēr was greatly concerned for his kingdom. He had a premonition that the multitude from the south might capture his land and trample it underfoot, and although he was able to summon the numberless forces of Turkestanis to his aid, he therefore undertook to submit to the yoke of vassalage of the king of the south. When the despot of the south heard of the goodwill and reverence in which the emperor of the Romans held our prince and of his holding the reins of the peoples of Turkestan (being able to call them in or keep them back by virtue of his physical relationship with them), an uncontrollable envy was kindled in the mind of the proud conqueror of the world, and he sent reliable messengers with mighty oaths and promises of countless gifts if only he would come to him. Putting his faith in the virtues of the cross of Christ, he prepared magnificent presents and went with them to salute the conqueror of the world. First of all he entered the house of the Lord which he had built in the fortress of Gardman as his refuge, and there, with profound sighs, he besought the visitation of the knower of secrets in the words of the great David: 'O creator of justice and righteousness, deliver me not to the hands of my oppressors' [Ps. cxviii. 121 = A.V. cxix. 121]. In this spirit he took leave of the all-conquering light, armed himself, and set out for the distant land. The Armenian general and all the *naxarars* came to meet him and received him with pleasure and joy and sent him on his way in great honour. When he descended into the land of the Asorestanis, he observed that the royal governors of those provinces and the leading citizens of the towns did him honour at the caliph's command, each in their

[1] The sixth year of Damascus as capital of the caliphate was 667/8, a date which coincides with Constans's death in the west, not with the year of his going thither (662).

[2] Muʿāwiyah (661–80).

several districts; horses were prepared and hostelries ready right up to his arrival in great glory at the court of the king. He commanded the grandees of his retinue to go before him and lead the steed on which the king himself was mounted, and thus, in the most dignified splendour, they entered the camp of the numerous concentrations of troops. The multitude, hearing his illustrious name, thronged to see him on the road. The king of the south gladly rose from his sleep at sunrise before his customary hour and received the prince of the east with a friendly greeting, being greatly pleased at his arrival. He was received with a perfect welcome, and to not one of the governors of the country were such royal honours accorded [by the caliph], especially when he had savoured his intelligence and reason; for though lords and leaders of many lands were there in his service, in none of them had he such sure confidence as in J̌uanšēr, on whom, and on those with him, he bestowed very great gifts. After this the prince of the east asked to be allowed to take his leave in peace, and the ruler of the south set his seal to a treaty of sincere and perpetual friendship and gave him his right hand, although it had never been the custom of the proud lord of the earth to give it to any other foreigner. When these things had been accomplished, he was sent on his way with high honours from the universal court (*marzaran*), and he arrived in the province of Ayrarat where he was received by the brave Grigor of the Mamikonean family[1] and all the nobles. Grigor took him to his comopolis of Aruč to which the pure dove and pillar of the Church, Anastas, great patriarch of Armenia,[2] also repaired; seeing him, the pious prince was filled with spiritual joy and delight, and he humbled himself and was blessed by him as by a holy angel. In the same magnificence he went up to the canton of Gardman, where he straightway entered under the roof of his refuge and began to use all manner of precious materials for the ornamentation of the wondrous beauty of the ineffable light. He appointed decorators to work on it and had it painted from dome to doorpost, embellishing it with gold and silks, and the door of the chamber containing the light of the world he commanded to be covered in silver work. After this, the illustrious prince J̌uanšēr remained completely faithful to the king of the south for three years.[3]

[1] Governor of Armenia 662–85 (see Markwart, *Streifzüge*, p. 514, Grousset, pp. 304–7). [2] Anastas I of Akoři (661–7). [3] 667–70.

Chapter 28. *The second journey of J̌uanšēr to the King of the South; his wise aid to the Greeks and his halving of the tribute*

The King of the South again summoned the praiseworthy Prince of the East, J̌uanšēr, with an invitation promising many gifts to add to his previous honours and to increase his glory. For leading citizens of the town of Byzantium had come to him to accept the yoke of tribute to the sons of Hagar, and since eunuchs had undertaken to kill Constantine in the thirtieth year of his reign,[1] the king had ordered them to remain where they were until the arrival of the prince of the east. The celebrated lord arrived with his previous retinue and was welcomed with more reverence and esteem than on the previous occasion, for [the caliph] commanded that the palace of his own brother be prepared for his repose and that he be always seated with him at table. He then ordered him to enter into peaceable negotiations with the honourable gentlemen who had come from the imperial city. The king was greatly amazed at his judicious and profound knowledge, and the ambassadors from the kingdom of Greece were no less grateful to him, for he endeavoured in many ways to advise the king to their advantage. After this, the king of the south ordered the prince of the east to be honoured even more greatly, like a crowned king, and presented him with that proud, well-trained, domestic[2] beast from India, the elephant, with which the courts of kings are adorned in awe-inspiring magnificence. From the beginning of

[1] Constans's thirtieth year would have been 670/1, but he was assassinated in Sicily in 668. A Greek mission to Damascus led by the cubicularius Andreas is mentioned by Theophanes, pp. 348–50, as taking place in the year preceding Constans's death, i.e. 667, with a view to soliciting the caliph's aid against the Armenian rebel Sabōrios (Šapuh) who had already sent a representative (Sergios, i.e. Sargis) to ask for the caliph's aid against the Greeks. It is the caliph who suggests that the Greeks pay tribute to him in return for his help, whereupon Andreas, insulted, leaves Damascus and ambushes Sergios, who has succeeded in his mission. It is possible, though not very probable, that J̌uanšēr was present at the discussions (667 was the possible date of his first—and probably his only—visit to Damascus) and he may have 'tried in many ways to advise the king to their (the Greeks') advantage'. In any case, MD's account contains distorted reflections of the events described by Theophanes.

[2] P4, BM, Q *aṙatunin*; D2 *aṙatausin*; P2, 5, D3 *aṙatusin*; P3 *aṙatausin*; E *aṙataus*; P1 *p'aṙs tanin*; D1, S *k'aṙotanin* 'quadruped'. The last reading is clearly a gloss; Professor Henning suggests that the first is a corruption of *aṙtnin* 'domestic', a view adopted above.

time down to the present day it has never been known to have been given as a gift to minor dignitaries. Then he gave him a parrot, the most precious of all birds, and one which in former times was to be seen nowhere but in the kingdom of the Greeks. He bestowed other gifts along with these: a steel, gold-plated sword studded with many pearls, robes embroidered with spun gold, silks,[1] brocades, true purple dyes,[2] beautiful purple robes, all the wonderful dyes known of old and still known at the present time, and fifty-two swift steeds which the king was wont to ride himself. He also ordered the first of his wives to send the princess of the east the wonderfully beautiful adornments of queens, silken and gold-embroidered dresses, and he commanded that each member of his retinue be given enough brocades and feathers for fifty men. He subjected to his rule the principality of Siwnestan [Siwnik'], and urged him to undertake to rule also over the people of Atrpatakan beyond the river, but he would not consent to rule with absolute power over the regions of the world; he renounced this additional honour, and in that natural virtue of his which prospered his country, he preferred to devote his thoughts to the task of helping his native land. He then asked for the tribute which weighed heavily upon his lands to be reduced, and the king of the south granted this request with pleasure, and ordered the yoke of tribute to be reduced by one-third.[3] After these magnificent favours, whereby he honoured him more than all the princes, he again gave him his right hand and dismissed him with honour. He arrived in his own country and hastened to the house of the Lord, where he fell on his face and praised the ineffable gifts of God, saying: 'From God is my power and my glory.' From there he descended into the capital (*ostan*) which was his abode for the cold winter and there summoned a national assembly at which we saw him not merely with his usual measure of glory, but beautifully attired in even greater regal splendour. We saw also the royal bird.

[1] P2, 3, E, S *əstawraks*; BM, Q, Ant., P4, 5 *əstōraks*; D1, S 1 var. *əstawaraks*; P1 *əst awetaks*. See HAG, p. 153.

[2] BM, Q *ew dibaks, oloberon*; P 4 . . . *oloperon;* Ant., P3, D1, 2 . . . *oliberon*; E, S 1 var. . . . *oliberons*; P5, D3 *dipak soliberan*; P2 *dipak soliberon*; P1 *dipaksoli beran*. For *dipak*, see HAG, p. 143; *oloberon* = Gk. ὁλόβηρον.

[3] S *hramayeaç erkakiseal* (BM *erkakisel*) *zharkaçn luc t'et'ewaçuçanel yaṙajin erreakn ǰap'uç masn mi*. Patkanean, p. 160, translates: 'he ordered the yoke of tribute to be halved, demanding one part in three.' The verb *erkakisel* does not seem to be attested elsewhere (*erkakisak* means 'the number five, consisting of twice two and a half' according to *NBHL*).

It was beautiful to behold, for in its yellow plumage a faint green hue mingled and shimmered, and the reddish colour of its breast was interspersed here and there around its neck by colours which harmonized with each other like dew-drops hanging like pearls from the golden ears of corn in the fields on a morning in spring. Thus also were the pupils of its eyes. The hump of its thick beak turned down and curved over its mouth, and in this the spike-like extremity of its tongue, jutting up like a tooth, continually uttered a well-modulated sound very much like a human voice. As in former times it had sung the praises of a certain emperor Nero in his chamber, so in these latter days we saw it glorify our most fortunate prince.[1] But however great was the astonishment it provoked, it was not so great as that occasioned by what I am now about to describe. For among the attractions of the feast, we saw, towards the end of the royal procession outside the wall on the road to the entrance gate, that enormous, malicious, clumsy animal, the elephant, as huge as a mighty rock, walking along as though to pay homage to the king. Its rafter-like shanks supported what seemed like a mountain, and its trunk, hanging down from its forehead, resembled a vicious snake; this it would swish along the ground,[2] turn it this way and that, and point up in the air, or it would nuzzle itself with it, and emit its breath with a terrifying roaring sound through the nostrils.[3] Verily, I say, a terrible fear and trembling fear seized a man's soul at the sight of the behemoth-like motion of its head! We saw horses ride by, superb and magnificently adorned, walking, trotting, galloping, and executing charges swift as the wind, caparisoned in gilded saddles and shining armour.

Now what shall I relate, now what shall I recount?[4] By divine

[1] See Pliny the Elder, *Nat. Hist.* x. 117 (India hanc avem mittit, siptacen vocat, viridem toto corpore torque tantum miniato in cervice distinctam. imperatores salutat et quae accipit verba pronuntiat), Persius, *Prol.*, l. 8 (quis expedivit psittaco suum chaere [χαῖρε]); see Keller, *Die antike Tierwelt*, Bd. ii, pp. 45 ff., who identifies the parrot known to the Romans as the *psittacus* or *palaeornis torquatus*, which is also the species described above.

[2] P4, BM, Q *aṙ getnovn*; P1, 5, E, S *aṙ getovn* (as Patk., p. 161, 'by the river').

[3] P1, D1 *xnčap'olsn*; S *xnčap'oln*; P5, D2 *xṙnčap'oln*; P4, BM *xoṙoǰap'ol* 'hollow tube'; E *xṙčap'oln* 'larynx'.

[4] The style of this passage and that of many of those preceding concerning Juanšēr suggest that they formed part of a public address to the prince, perhaps by the same Dawt'ak mentioned at ii. 34. This eulogy is shown below to have been pronounced in the prince's thirty-third year, i.e. 669/70, thus during the Hellenistic period of Armenian literature; one may note that the phrase 'Christ,

providence this J̌uanšēr was destined for glory and honour from his very birth, and up to the present day the Lord has vouchsafed him to be in all things most glorious. Consequently we have regarded him as no less than a king, enjoying all manner of riches—much gold and silver, precious purple robes and beautiful clothes, valuable jewels, and shining pearls. All was full to overflowing. In the course of these thrice ten and three years the Lord afforded great honour unto the victorious prince of Albania, and he was greatly esteemed and respected by the reigning kings of four nations as being no less than they. In all things he was noble and great, and no one with childish behaviour or stupid thoughts slighted his rule because he wore no crown, the supreme ornament(?)[1] of the illustrious greatness of royal rank, upon his head. For us most humble slaves he will be great, not after the fashion of an Augustus or Tiberius Caesar, but by virtue of the wonderful excellence of his most gracious goodness, like the blessed Constantine who was glorified and honoured with a heavenly crown. Yea, verily, for you, most honoured prince of the east, we, gathered together, will do whatever our Lord Jesus Christ, who made you our Lord Theodorus, might ask of you, renouncing sins, loving God, fearing Him and walking in His paths, that He may benefit you and your sons from generation unto generation for ever.

Chapter 29. *The vision of Israyēl, hermit and man of God, concerning St. Maštoc and the discovery of the holy cross which was at Gis*[2]

I HAVE found this true but somewhat brief account of the monkhood of Israyēl, the beginning of which was rather obscure. We have assembled only that which concerns our purpose, namely how, after he had spent a whole year on the mountain, he chanced

who made you our Lord Theodorus' could be understood only with reference to the Greek meaning of the latter name, 'Gift of God', cf. a similar phrase in Asołik, iii. 21, tr. Macler, p. 122: 'Now, if thou be a true Theophilus ['friend of God']. . . .'

[1] BM, E, S 1 var. *cayrayapawič* (this compound, hap. leg., of *cayr* 'summit, top', and *yapaw-el* 'cut, shear', possibly means 'that which cuts round, encircles, the head', 'a diadem'); S *cayrayapaw inč*; P1, D2, 3 *cayrapawinič*; P5 *cayrayapawinič*.

[2] See above, i. 28; another, sometimes divergent, account of the discovery of the cross of Gis is given below, ii. 33.

to be sleeping on his knees on the ground when in the fourth hour of the night there suddenly appeared unto him a wonderful and amazing vision, shining with light and at the same time emitting sweet perfumes which filled and enchanted his nostrils. And it increased his wisdom and taught him to remember well all the mystical revelations given in the past and the teaching of the gospels which had been given to us, when and how they were received, by what manner of men, and who and whence were those who fought with their blood and inherited the name of martyr, and where they concealed the divine treasure, and what he had to do. When all this had been told him a first and a second time, the man was upon awaking seized with terror for some time. Then he arose and was joyful, and spreading his arms before the Lord, he gratefully performed his morning prayer. And on the morrow, recalling the word of God which says 'Woe to him who negligently does the work of the Lord' [Jer. xlviii. 10], he made haste and came down from the mountain, and taking his servant with him, speedily arrived in the church village where the bishop's palace was. And he went in and told the bishop with great care and in detail of the coming of the revelation concerning the mystery, the whole truth thereof, saying: 'My Lord, let us not be slow to perform the commands of God, lest we be judged like those who deny him. Carry out this task with zeal and bring the divine treasure to light.' Hearing these things, the bishop Dawit', the overseer of Mec Kołmank', deliberated upon them for an hour and decided to take with him certain of the chorepiscopi, and accompanied by these, he related all to the patriarch of Albania Uxtanēs. When the latter heard this, he gladly praised the Lord, greatly amazed at the bishop's account of the father's vision, and he said: 'How did he become worthy of this mystery?' And on account of these things the catholicos commanded a great assembly to be summoned. But the bishop of the region in Arcax called Mec Irank', the bold man Yovēl, who arrived thither, reproached the catholicos and the bishop Dawit' severely, saying: 'Why have you lent your ears to such vanities and paid heed to this fantastic vision which the scriptures teach us to disbelieve? For after the teaching of the apostles and the evangelists such things have not been seen, and cannot have been seen now!' And he was full of profound knowledge and versed in holy writ.

Thereupon the holy patriarch answered him and said: 'What

you say may be understood from the scriptures, but since the story of this vision is something new and rare, it may be from God, and we who fight it may perhaps be judged with those who deny him; we must not oppose it, or we shall perhaps be found to oppose God. It is not right to reject the appearance after the apostles of all the holy things, including the holy rood, and the divine hidden treasures which in these latter times have been revealed by men's visions in divers places, in the holy city of Jerusalem and in many towns, and with which the universe is now filled and the churches made glorious. For here in this very land of Albania relics of the saints have come to light in various places. And this is no new wonder which has been discovered, for there is not one of the treasures of God which he will forever conceal in the earth. It is not at all fitting to reject truth along with falsehood and deceit, and to consider the work of God the temptations of Satan; rather must one examine the matter properly and interpret it correctly, as the holy apostle says: "Prove all things and accept the good" [1 Thess. v. 21]. And again in the Epistle General it says: "Believe not every spirit, but choose the spirit which is of God" [1 John iv. 1]. Now go, you bishops who have inherited these regions, and let each of you undertake to supervise the search, and ask God whether the vision be from him or whether it be some heathen nonsense; for the temptations of Satan and the deception of men are evident, but the grace of God is still more so. Inform us daily in what way the Lord God reveals the mystery to you in that place.' The two bishops Dawit' and Yovēl willingly accepted the patriarch's command, and taking their leave, they proceeded under the guidance of the Holy Spirit to Ṙostak in the canton of Mec Kołmank', to the Asparisakan field on the banks of the river Trtu (Terter) in the valley of Č̣lax in the diocese of Mec Irank'. And they came and encamped in the famous grove on the little hillock in the hilly place. There stood a shrine made of wood and reinforced with brick, its walls adorned with crosses and shining studs. When the news of this spread, honourable men—chorepiscopi, priests, deacons, chief men (*glxawork'*), governors of hundreds (*hariwraworaç gawarapetk'*), and very great officials (*mecamec gorcakalk'*), a multitude of men and women of the people—arrived forthwith in haste and gathered together that they might all behold the wonders of God. Then the bishops commanded a solemn assembly to be proclaimed in order that three days of fasting and prayer

should be observed, for there was much quarreling among them. Some believed and others did not. The senior bishop Yovēl himself considered it a fraud. When the end of the three-day fast arrived, the abbot Israyēl took the spade in his hands; all fell on their knees, and fixing his eyes directly on the designated spot, he ordered them to dig without delay. In this task a great number of people scooped out the earth with articles of clothing, but exhausted by their great efforts, they could not find the great and desirable treasure. Then they broke into the wooden shrine from the east side, in the place where the altar for the sin-remitting sacrifice to the Lord was set up, and applying themselves to the search, they dug to a depth of about 3 cubits beneath the altar. And behold, a sweet smell of great fragrance suddenly issued forth from that place, and filling the air, its rich and pleasant odour fell exceeding sweet upon the senses of many men, for it resembled the rare perfume of a myriad of incenses and various flowers, so that everyone was amazed. When they had dug to a depth of 10 spans, they found two silver caskets with leaden seals upon them and upon which a solid gold tablet was riveted; and on the tablet was Syriac and Armenian writing. And since the revelation of the divine miracle occurred publicly in the midst of a great multitude, great amazement spread through all the people, and they banded together and made haste to extract the reliquaries, for they burned with faith and love of the saints. Sincere was the joy and happy the countenance of those who had witnessed these things. The holy men and the godly bishops were also greatly amazed at the divine miracles, and they lauded the ineffable gifts of God with many blessings. Because of these things the man of God Israyēl was revered by the bishops and the people, and they honoured him on account of his holy merit. Then the bishops, together with Israyēl and the holy priests, withdrew from the others, and breaking the seal of the ring on the holy caskets, discovered a relic of the Cross of Salvation. The archdeacon of the chorepiscopus read the inscription on the gold tablet, and the writing said: 'These are part of the relics of the Jerusalem saints.' And when Yovēl, bishop of Mec Irank', saw this holy sign, his wisdom budded and blossomed forth abundantly, and with all his heart he praised the Lord and acknowledged the truth of the father's vision, and exalted him in the ears of all, thus becoming an architect of that which he formerly sought to destroy. For in this matter he considered

himself, by virtue of his previous hostility, sinful and guilty, and because the place where the life-giving light was concealed had been destined to be in his province, he would not allow it to be presented to one who comes and passes on again, but he made himself its administrator and guardian as though it were his own personal treasure, and honouring one of the caskets, he took it off to his episcopal palace. The man of God (Israyēl) was, however, extremely displeased at this, for it was proper that the holy things of God which had been entrusted to him by God and which he had found should be ministered by him. However, in keeping with his humility, he consented for a time and complained to no one, but took the remaining casket with the consent of the bishop Dawit' and the chorepiscopi and the priests and ministers of the Lord and the whole people, and they carried it to his dwelling and with psalms and hymns of praise they laid the holy things of the Lord to rest in the holy church of Glxoy Vank' amid shining lanterns and burning candles. And exchanging sincere farewells, they returned home.

Chapter 30. *The text of the letter written by the bishops Dawit' and Yovēl and the great assembly concerning the way in which God revealed his great wonders*

'Uxtanēs,[1] godly archbishop of the east, filled with celestial and spiritual love and endowed with the grace of the Holy Spirit, and J̌uanšēr, provident, noble, ever-illustrious and powerful ex-consul and patrician, and all the *naxarars* who are with you, we, the humble bishops Dawit' and Yovēl, greet you in the Lord.

'We must proclaim the good news and relate to you in this letter the miraculous reappearance of hidden things and the discovery of the Holy Cross which greatly increased the abundant wonderment in our minds concerning things which, with doubting and disbelieving minds, we once declined even to mention. But lo, we have now ourselves witnessed the eternal miracle of the discovery of the cross, and of necessity we now truthfully bear witness that it is the glory of glories; how is it possible to pass over this in silence, to hide a shining image under a bushel? It is evident that it

[1] Catholicos of Albania, 670–82; see below, iii. 23, p. 229, and Dowsett, 'The Albanian Chronicle of Mxit'ar Goš', *BSOAS* xxi (1958), p. 478, n. 3.

must be worthily proclaimed from the ranks of this beacon of light, that is, by this holy, illuminating convocation. Consequently we must judiciously proclaim the agent of our salvation, the fair and seemly four-armed [cross] of Our Lord, [given] that we might ourselves accept the fact of His incomparable first bearing thereof. It is in truth the very hope of Christians, [the symbol of] the resurrection of the dead, a guide for the blind; for the cross, which was formerly synonymous with condemnation, has become the agent of salvation for believers. Through it we have found ourselves within the royal bed-chamber; we fear no flaming arrows, for we wear the emblem of the king. Lend an attentive ear to our words.

'We were not disposed to examine this matter of our own accord, above all because we in our doubting minds considered the whole affair a fraud, but being unable to contravene your commands, [we did so]; and having examined it properly, by the grace of God we discovered the truth of it upon arriving on the bank of a river in a place called Čłax in a valley in Arcax where a shrine stood. And lo, the news of our arrival spread, and a multitude of people from the surrounding countryside came and gathered there, including various orders of clergy and other honourable men who displayed no small measure of contradiction and opposition. We observed strict fasts for three days, however, each one of us keeping to the rules and praying constantly, and then we began to dig near the altar. Suddenly a sweet, pungent smell of perfume filled our senses, by means of which, after a little labour, we found that which we desired through the grace of the Most High and the prayers of the holy father Israyēl: two silver caskets with a leaden seal fastened with a Greek device[1] and upon which a tablet of pure gold was securely riveted; and there was a Syriac and Armenian inscription upon it. In accordance with the inscription, we opened them in the presence of the holy priests and discovered relics of the all-quickening cross and many other sacred objects which the inscription said to be Jerusalem relics of things sacred to the Lord. I also, Yovēl, humble bishop, gave thanks with them to the giver of all things and dispelled all doubt from my mind, and accepted in faith the vision of the abbot. Since this discovery took place in my diocese, I had one of the caskets taken to my own church amid great rejoicing, while we, the bishops Dawit' and Yovēl, by the grace of God sent the other holy things with the chorepiscopi

[1] *? hoṙomaṗ'ak.*

and priests and a suite of servants to the abbot's monastery, accompanied by happy and joyous spiritual song. May the Lord God preserve you by his power and glory and through the discovery of the cross which bore God all the long and peaceful days of your lives, and give an incomparable [abundance] of the dew of heaven and the riches of the earth to the spiritual overseer [Uxtanēs] and bless the exalted leader J̌uanšēr with royal heirs.'

Chapter 31. *The reply from the patriarch and the prince to the bishops*

'We have read the letter written by you and for which we offered great praises to our bountiful God who day by day in his mercy performs miracles for his creatures, as also for the gift of your own holiness, bishops Dawit' and Yovēl. Uxtanēs, unworthy patriarch, and J̌uanšēr, general and prince of Albania, bid you rejoice in the Lord.

'We have given eternal thanks for the quickening salvation given to us by God, for the gifts of God and for the Holy Cross which has appeared among us and opened and given light to our eyes; for this we with ever-open mouth and never-resting tongue have blessed our Lord Jesus Christ, the beneficent and bountiful worker of miracles, who has given us the incorruptible gifts of the Holy Spirit. Consider us, though far away in the body, yet near in the spirit, and remember us before the newly-discovered cross. Take Israyēl, clothed in virtue and weaned in holiness, and the gifts of treasure and the cross, and bring them to us with great care, that we also may worship them in joyous communion with the entire congregation. Greetings in the Lord.'

The blessed supervisor and overseer of the bishops, reading the letter from the general of the east and the holy catholicos, took with all speed the holy treasures which they had found and together with the bishops and Israyēl arrived without delay at the great city of Peroz-Kawat, for there sat the great prince of the east J̌uanšēr and the archbishop Uxtanēs together with all the naxarars, who, upon receiving the radiant gift from the exalted assembly, worshipped long in the crowded hall. And the prince dedicated votive offerings and gifts before the holy cross, and praising the abbot, honoured him with the catholicos and the

whole assembly. Then he commanded him to be sent with the casket containing the cross to his monastery Glxoy Vank' on the high mountain in the upper part of the canton of Mec Kueank'. And saluting the blessed man with a spiritual embrace, everyone returned home with happy thoughts.

Chapter 32. *Albanian nobles contract race-polluting[1] marriages, for which they are cursed*

At this time some principal men in Albania sullied their race and became abominable owing to illicit liaisons. The first was the house of the lord of Kołt', who was of royal blood; then followed three houses in the province of Aršakašēn of Dastaker, Čnšmi, and Mamšeł;[2] beyond the Kur, the house of Heǰeri; in Gis in the province of Uti, the house of Varaz-P'erož, who held the title of *łak'nar*;[3] and the sacristan[4] Varažan(?), who sat in Aražakan; and the house of Tuerak. Because of their unlawful marriages, the blessed patriarch Uxtanēs heaped curses upon them, and when they would not turn from the evil they had contrived, they were all annihilated and exterminated from the face of the earth.

After this the blessed patriarch returned to Christ, and Eliazar, a good and noble man, succeeded to the see. He was bishop of Šak'i, and at the death of Uxtanēs was present at the synod summoned there with the other bishops. As he went into the synod, certain heretical people censured him, and after the morning service they selected a certain monk, abbot of the monastery in the town of P'eroz-Kawat, intending to make him catholicos. Thereupon, however, the foul spirit knocked him to the ground, condemning him in the sight of all. Then they cast lots as once for Matthias [Acts i. 26], and the virtuous Eliazar received the apostolic dignity from the synod while the fortunate J̌uanšēr ruled the land in this unstable life in accordance with God's will.[5]

[1] *azgašałax*, probably referring to marriage with *aylazgik'* 'infidels, Muslims'.

[2] BM,E, *erek' tun* (E *tunk'*): *Dastakerayn, Čnšmiayn, Mamšełun;* S *erek' tun dastakertaçn, Čnšmeayn, Manšełun (ew Kur getoyn yaynkoys tunn Hegerwoy).*

[3] P2, 4, 5, S, E *łak'nar*; V1, 2 *łak' nár*; BM *šak'n̊or* (for *łak'nar*); P1 *zap'nar*. Prof. W. B. Henning suggests this = *λαγηνάριος* in the sense of 'butler').

[4] BM,E, *Varažnu spasatunn;* S. *Varažanu . . .*; *spasatun*, lit. 'vestry'.

[5] K. Basmadjian, 'Chronologie de l'histoire d'Arménie', *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien*, xix (1914), pp. 366 ff., gives his dates as 682–8. The date of his demise seems to be supported by Mxit'ar Goš and the length of his term of office (six

Chapter 33. *The holy man of God Israyēl becomes a priest; a narrative account of the discovery of the holy cross*

THE blessed man was a well of light, and gave many to drink of his abundant sweet waters, waging a constant and determined battle against the . . . enemy[1] with whom the virtuous, brave and select champions [of the faith] are ever in opposition; in like fashion he also, being greatly renowned for his justice in the land, wafted the sweet perfume of the holy of holies upon the senses of many men. Finally, therefore, the bishop Dawit', receiving a sign from the Holy Spirit, bestowed the priesthood upon him and consecrated him that he might have authority to save lost souls like the great Peter and to offer up the immaculate sacrifice like Aaron, and that those near and far might rejoice with him and receive the blessing of his holy right hand. Lo! this was such a wonderful and marvellous thing that it seemed to many men incredible; these things were day by day fulfilled in him in accordance with divine providence, and to him applied the word of the apostle which says: 'whom He first called, God justified, and whom He justified, them He glorified' [Rom. viii. 30]. Now when one month had passed after this, the holy priest, at the inspiration of the providential command from above, undertook to seek the desirable cross which St. Maštoc had concealed in the village called Gis in the province

years according to MD iii. 23, p. 229, Mxit'ar Goš and Kirakos) indicates 682 as the date of his election (see Dowsett, *BSOAS* xxi (1958), p. 478, nn. 3 and 4). If the historical evidence of the present chapters is to be trusted, however, the latter date must be amended. Eliazar is mentioned as patriarch at the time of the accession of Varaz Trdat prior to the Hun raid on Albania which took place between 9 June and 23 December 681 (below, p. 150, n. 3) and after which he acted as a negotiator (p. 150). In the above passage he is said to have been elected during the principate of Juanšēr, who appears to have died between September 680 and June 681 (below, p. 145, n. 2); moreover, between the date of the patriarch's election and the departure of Juanšēr to his summer residence in June 680 (p. 142, nn. 1, 2) we may have to make allowances for the happenings of ii. 33. Early 680 is thus a possible date for his election, while a date much later than the middle of 681 would seem to be out of the question. It must be noted, however, that this chronological reconstruction hinges upon the date 62 H at ii. 39, p. 153, n. 1, and the supposed identity of the raid of 130 A reported by Asołik and that of ii. 36, p. 149, n. 1; the calculated dates of his successor Nersēs Bakur (below, p. 189, n. 2), however, would support a dating 680–6 or 681–7, indicating that one must perhaps ignore the data in Mxit'ar Goš.

[1] P1 *ənddēm Enebay t'šnamwoyn*; P2, 3 . . . *Eniba* . . . ; P5 . . . *enibay* . . . ; P4, BM *i baç t'šnamoyn*; see below, ii. 34, p. 143, n. 2. The readings of S (. . . *hngeki* . . . 'fivefold'?) and E (. . . *xabebay* . . . 'deceitful') are editorial emendations.

of Uti. Since he was the first of the good brothers to receive this loving command, out of consideration for all men he bore the divine truth in secret, and providentially considering the good of all, he did not publicly proclaim his secret design, but strove to flee from the praise of men and to shun ambitious and vainglorious passions. Not wishing to go with a crowd, therefore, he asked only one of the reverend priests nursed in holiness to follow him in his search, and with him he arrived in the place designated, that is, at the old church. He was not able, however, to ascertain the exact site thereof, but immediately a wonderful sign appeared over the cypresses surrounding the holy church on all sides. It shone in the shape of an arch like a flaming dawn on high, and drawing level with the dome, it completely enveloped it and shone brightly over the tops of the cypresses like a rainbow against the clouds, thus illuminating the solid, stone, tiled top[1] [of the dome] where the cross of Christ lay at rest until it seemed to flash like lightning. The holy man, thereby knowing the treasure to lie there unpillaged, took a spade in his hand, and stripped to his shirt like the brave Abraham, began with his companion to dig in the place indicated. When the hole was 5 hands or so deep, a silver chest came to light, mildewed and tarnished and bearing an inscription in Armenian, Greek, and Syriac to the effect that a fragment of the life-giving cross lay inside. And inside, plated in silver embellished with gold but now dull, was found the cross made of the everlasting cross of Christ. Then the man of God in great gladness burned much incense and rejoiced with spiritual joy, and he sang songs, associating himself with David the living harp: 'I shall bless the Lord at all times' [Ps. xxxiii. 2 = A.V. xxxiv. 1]; [this he did] because God granted him his awe-inspiring cross which will save us from the enemy for ever. Reverently he carried the cross of salvation to his church.

In those days the appearance of the cross and its arrival at its [final] resting-place gave rise to much wonder and amazement, with the result that it was impossible to keep silent about the terrible, great glory of God. As Cyril, who was patriarch of Jerusalem, says when writing to Constantine concerning the appearance of the Cross: 'the rays of light shining down upon the Mount of Olives did not appear to one or two alone, but were clearly visible to the eyes of all the inhabitants of the city.' The appearance of

[1] *purak.*

the cross of light to this land of the east was just so, for everyone clearly saw the intense light shining in all its radiance among the clouds in the heavens, and rushing towards it, everyone saw the ascent and descent of grace upon the most holy cross; sometimes it was in the form of fire, sometimes of light, sometimes in the shape of the morning star; and not only we, but the whole country beheld its brilliant rays. For while it shone in the sky near the site of the temple of the Lord in the fifth hour of night, it was seen not only from the town, but in all the surrounding widespread villages and towns, by men and women, by shepherds in the hills and in the fields and those grazing their flocks in the lowlands, by the farmers in the plains who gathered the fruits thereof for the benefit of the country, and by many wayfarers in the open air. All these witnessed the shining miracle, and many hastened in awe and with quick steps to watch the display and stood in many groups. Satisfying their innermost desire and kissing the holy cross of Christ and receiving grace and mercy from the beloved instrument [of torture], they received the gifts of [Christ's] splendid victory. Many of the chiefs of the various districts of the country had come for the Feast of the Lord's Cross, and on account of these mighty and terrible signs which appeared over the cross no one dared enter under his roof that night, and all went up into the high places and prayed all night through until morning. When the sun rose, they entered the church and stood before the cross in fear and awe, and then celebrated the eve of the Feast of the Cross with a sacrificial offering upon the altar.

After the appearance of these wonders, when the powerful cross, the great tower,[1] which had received the body of God blossomed and flowered again—the cross in which we were deemed worthy by God to believe and which encompasses us, the provident work of His creation, for our protection, the staff and rod of salvation given us by God which for us drew aside the veil of knowledge of God while the hosts of scribes and the ranks of children of the covenant remained without this knowledge, the mystery being concealed from them[2]—then the guardian, learning from God that the cross was in the old church, went promptly and eagerly to the church of the Monastery of the Head in the canton

[1] *hzōreł astuacənkal xaṙ aštarakin meci*, lit. 'the powerful cross of the great tower which . . .'; *aštarak* is used as a synonym of *xaṙ* 'cross' (see *NBHL* and the same image p. 118 above).

[2] Cf. 2 Cor. iii. 13–15.

of Mec Kueank'; seeing there the holy bishop Israyēl and falling at his feet, he related the whole of his vision and begged him to interpret its meaning to him. Israyēl would not reveal its meaning to him, however, and he returned home; and on the morrow the vision repeated itself to the same man holding a manuscript and gave it to him as a sign to the man of God. When the saint saw this and realized that the vision was inspired from above, he revealed its meaning to him and showed him the same life-giving cross, but commanded him to swear an oath to tell no one. After a few days, however, although he had sworn this oath, he broke his word and went to the catholicos and many others to tell his story, for it was not fitting to conceal the truth. The patriarch Eliazar marvelled at the good news which came as it were like a gift, and the prince J̌uanšēr sent a letter to Israyēl commanding him to bring the miraculously rediscovered cross to him without delay. He obeyed the command of the patriarch and arrived in haste at the holy church. The great prince and the holy patriarch also arrived there accompanied by all the nobles, and they plainly saw the cross of Christ shining anew, the cross which the holy Maštoç had made with his own hands and with which he converted the land of Albania from their erring idol-worship by illumination from the font of grace. Worshipping the holy cross, they returned again, lauding the giver of desirable gifts in great joy. Subsequently the priest of God Israyēl, honoured before the catholicos and the prince in the eyes of the nobles, received their command to perform everything [that was to be done] boldly. After a few days, on account of the great wonders and miracles which had appeared many times over the cypresses, he wished to consecrate them in the shape of the Lord's cross, and summoning skilled carpenters, he commissioned them to shape the trees into a cross with carved reliefs depicting the acts of the Lord. Hearing this, the chief bishop and J̌uanšēr wrote immediately to the man of God Israyēl asking to take part in the service for the dedication and consecration of the cross. The priest of the Lord gladly agreed to this and made preparations for the construction of the house dedicated to the glorious image of the cross. They, however, idled and moved too slowly, whereupon God sent a vision to the blessed patriach Eliazar exhorting him not to delay and be late for the consecration of the cross of Christ, and Eliazar rose early in the morning and made haste to the appointed church in the diocese of the province (*nahang*) of Gis. At the time the great

prince was travelling southwards into the province of the Sisakank' [Siwnik'], and since the patriarch Eliazar was like the apostles in word and deed, he revengefully drove out deceptive errors and caused truth to flourish and became worthy of the crown of glory as the protector of all those who sought virtue in orthodoxy, teaching them always to worship the three distinct persons of the Trinity. He subsequently made known to the blessed priest Israyēl that his piety was responsible for the wonderful vision which had appeared to him, and he received him as the servant of God. Taking a piece of the holy cross of Maštoç, he placed it with his permission into the newly-made wooden cross, anointed the cross with chrism and erected it in the middle of the church, consecrating it amid much incense in a splendid ceremony in the presence of the clergy and the congregation of believers.

Chapter 34. *The death of the great prince J̌uanšēr*

AT that time[1] the great prince J̌uanšēr set out for the mountain regions for the recreations of the whole annual festivities,[2] which he spent happily in land-surveying[3] in the company of skilled minstrels. The much-lauded and beloved J̌uanšēr, the coveted general who in his versatile wisdom subjected all men to his authority, being blessed with all the good things of this world, was proud of his intellectual prowess. Afterwards, however, the beloved and glorious man became vain and empty and was stripped of these glories by the snares of vice, for he transgressed the commandments of the Lord. All became a spider's web [cf. Job 8, 14], and the wonderful splendour swiftly vanished. In the scorching hot days the remarkable leader took his suite of noblemen[4] and his bodyguard[5] into the valleys between the high mountains, walking among the beautiful meadows enjoying themselves in peace among the flowers, and spending the days in happiness and luxury. When the sweltering days of high summer had passed and the time of the

[1] *C.* 680.

[2] *bolor tarekan awurç*, lit. 'all the annual days', presumably referring to the *tōnk' nawasardaç*, festivities in celebration of the New Year (see Dulaurier, *Chronologie*, pp. 10–11). From 680 to 683 Nawasard commenced on 9 June, hence the reference to the 'scorching hot days' below.

[3] P1, 4, 5, D1, BM, Q, S *erkraçap'ut'eamb*; D2, 3, E *erkaçap'ut'eamb* '?'

[4] P1, 5, D1, 2, 3, BM, S 1 var. *azatasah tohm*; P4 *azatay sah tohm*; E *azatazarm* . . . ; S *azatasun*. . . .

[5] P1, 3, 4, 5, BM, Q, S, E *Namesakan gund*; but see below, p. 144, n. 1.

Feast of the Exaltation of the Cross arrived,[1] he descended from these regions and came to the city of Partaw in the province of Uti, and entered his own beautifully decorated chapel to worship God with offerings and adoration in solemn service. While the illustrious J̌uanšēr was resting happily, a certain wicked and infamous man, who was imbued with the sin of Cain and had fallen into villainous temptations and had corrupted his companions in like manner, did not remember J̌uanšēr's kindness or the honours and gifts he had bestowed upon the house of his father, but contemplated his death and thought evil thoughts, enticing him into lascivious behaviour and persuading him with deceitful words to abandon himself to obscene pleasures. When the prince emerged from his palace along the path through the flowerbeds of the garden in the first hour of night, armed only with a sabre and without a shield, the troop of fully-armed guards stood at the gates of the palace, unconcerned, fearing nothing and sunk in sleep.

The evil Enibay,[2] the treacherous Varazoy,[3] took the royal mace,[4] the steel sword, and the gold-bossed shield and slily went on in front disguised as a guard, and the wicked traitor had secretly protected himself by wearing his armour underneath his cloak. When they reached the middle of the garden and were close to the wall which surrounded the grounds of the royal park, the mighty J̌uanšēr, being wise in all things, became aware of the treachery of the assassin, and alarmed by the clink of the armour worn by the other, the prince was afraid, imagining that it was everyone's intention to kill him. He made to return to the palace immediately, but the wicked assassin, who had been holding his sword loose in its scabbard, struck the brave prince a sudden blow from behind and,

[1] In 680 this feast, which falls between 11 and 17 September, occurred on the 16th of this month.

[2] P5, BM, E *Enibay*; P4, Q *Ēnibay*; P1, S *Enebay*. Ačaŕean, *Hayoç anjnanunneri baŕaran* [*Dictionary of Personal Names*], ii (Erevan, 1944), p. 120, is wrong in assuming this to be the name (*Enib) of the prince's murderer, who is actually named Varazoy. The word occurs also at ii, 33, p. 138, n. 1, in the phrase *əndděm Enibay t'šnamwoyn* 'against the enemy *Enibay*' or 'against the *enibay* enemy', where it is apparently a name for or an epithet of the devil; its provenance is as yet unexplained.

[3] For the ending *-oy* in such names as *Varazoy*, *Viroy*, *J̌uank'oy*, *Šeroy*, *Varazk'oy*, &c., see H. W. Bailey, 'Armeno-Indoiranica', *Transactions of the Philological Society*, 1956, pp. 92–93.

[4] P5, BM, Q *z-vazr-n* 'club' (add to *HAG*, pp. 244–5, as the form expected for Phl. *vazr*); S 1 var. *-varz-* 'id.'; S, E *-valr-* 'sabre'; P1, 4, D1, S 1 var. *-varaz-* 'boar'.

since he wore no armour, severely wounded him. He was not able to finish him off quickly with the sword, however, for J̌uanšēr, roaring like a lion, began to fight back with his. But the power of the Most High had abandoned him, and delivered him into the hands of the favourite he had himself reared. When J̌uanšēr came at him, the assassin held up his shield and stood his ground, and J̌uanšēr, plunging his sword into the solid shield, could not withdraw it. The other, filled with savage brutality, furiously inflicted wound after wound all over his body, spitefully, like a poisonous serpent, and wounding him with merciless blows of sabre and dagger, he threw his lord to the ground. The murderer, thinking that J̌uanšēr's soul had departed from his bosom—although in fact he had only half killed him—stealthily made his exit and went home, cunningly contriving to arouse no suspicion [by making it appear] that he had been asleep at home at the time, ignorant of what had happened. In the meantime someone found out what had occurred and announced the news of the treason, and a crowd gathered. One of the brothers of the guilty man warned him of the enormity of the things he had done, and he hastily mounted his horse and fled. Hereupon a certain patrician, a nephew of the prince, took a troop of fifty men from his Amesakan legion[1] and pursued the murderer. Conscious that they would never catch up with the fugitive, however, they went up into the hills of the canton of Arjaxunik', and as revenge for what had happened they plundered his father's house. They burned the house and looted the silk, taffeta, brocade, and linens of many colours, gold and silver, and the fine furniture and utensils. Then they returned in tears, uttering cries of compassion and weeping and mourning for the prince. He was still breathing and continued

[1] P3, 5, BM, S *ziwr amesakann legēon*; D3 . . . *amesakann* . . .; P1 . . . *amsakann* . . . D2 *ziwra mesakan* . . .; P4, Q *ziwrn amesakan* . . .; E *ziwr amehakann* . . .; see above, p. 142, n. 5, where the forms, like that of Q here, point to *namesakan*. Ačaṙean [*Etymological Dictionary*], s.v. 'Namesakan', refers to its occurrence in the *Girk' T'lt'oç* [*Book of Letters*], Tiflis, p. 373, in the phrase 'And we undertake to preach to you, not only to the *namesakan* and the near (*merjakay*), but also to those far away (*baçakan*) and remote (*tarakaçeal*) where the name of Christ has not been uttered'. Ačaṙean supposes *namesakan* to be a synonym of *merjakay* and an antonym of *baçakan* and *tarakaçeal*; the *namesakan legēon* might thus mean 'the regiment near to (the prince), the prince's bodyguard'. The *Baṙgirk' Hayoç* of Eremia Vardapet (1698), quoted by Ačaṙean, ibid., lists also the following unattested Iranian-looking words: *namesakan* 'šnorhakan' (gratuitous), *namersakan* 'yaweržakan' (eternal, immortal), *namečakan* 'naxarar, išxan' (duke, prince).

to live for a few days more. He assigned treasure and titles to each of his sons, confirmed them in their patrimony, and then, weakened by his grievous wounds, he died.[1]

At that time there was great confusion in our land, for the mob banded together and armed itself. The great naxarars and the whole country assembled, and with much lamentation, mourned the prince with plaintive and sorrowful voices. An orator called Dawt'ak arose, a man skilled in the artist's craft, expert in imaginative exercises, advanced in declamatory poetry, a man who spoke excellently well with rich and eloquent oratory and whose tongue was like the pen of a ready writer. He had spent a long time at the royal court after his arrival there, and when the dire news of the sudden assassination of the great general spread throughout our eastern land, he began to sing this elegy in acrostic form upon the worthy Juansēr:

Chapter 35. *The elegy on the death of the great prince J̌uanšēr*[2]

[Ayb] Inventive spirit of the word of God, compose with wisdom[3] this melancholy[4] song, that with mournful voice we may for ever lament our bitter loss.

[Ben] Great ruin overtook our eastern land and the noises of destruction echoed through the earth; may all nations and peoples hear my words and all creatures born on earth lament with me.

[Gim] The living rock and strong has overturned, the wall of strength is dashed down, the tower of reason overthrown, the bulwark of prosperity split and fallen asunder.

[1] If we believe the details given by MD, J̌uanšēr's death took place before the raid of Alp Ilit'uēr between 9 June and 23 December 681 (below, p. 150, n. 3), and presumably after September 680.

[2] The earliest secular poem (apart from fragments of oral literature preserved in MX, &c.) in Armenian literature. The acrostic was also the form chosen by the seventh-century catholicos Komitas in his hymn on St. Hṙip'simē and her companions (see A. Baumstark, *Die christlichen Literaturen des Orients*, iii (Leipzig, 1911), p. 96; M. Abełean [*Istoriya drevne-armyanskoi literatury*], i (Erevan, 1948), p. 311). The text of the poem is also contained in the journal *Noyean Aławni*, Constantinople, No. 37 (1852), the readings of which will be indicated below by NA.

[3] P1, 5, D1, S *imastiw*; P4, BM, Q, D2, Ant. *imasti*; E *imasts i*.

[4] P1, 4, 5, D1, BM, Q, S, NA *txrakan*; D2, 3, E *tirakan* 'pertaining to the lord'.

[Da] Our peace has turned to bitterness and the gates of the marauders shall pour them forth upon us, for his wonderful reign has been destroyed and the light of his miraculous rule has died.

[Eč] The curses with which the prophet Isaiah threatened us long ago have come and fallen upon us, for on the day of the Feast of the Lord's Cross we were reduced to sorrow and bitter weeping.

[Za] They dug a pit of utter perdition to trap the good shepherd; the spirit of error breathed within them and they concealed the snare of death.

[Ē] He sat like a lion in his lair, and silent his enemies trembled before him; the lords of noble families and all the princes obeyed him in fear and love.

[Et'] His fame spread over the whole earth and his glory extended to the ends of the world; the whole universe lauded and acclaimed the power of his intellect and the wisdom of his judgement.

[T'o] The king of the Greeks and the prince of the south eagerly sought to behold our lord; receiving him with respectful salutations and crowning him in glory, they greatly honoured him.

[Žē] The hour of our misfortunes suddenly came upon us and chastized our impenitent corruption; we angered the Creator by our deeds, and He plunged the supreme power [of the land][1] into perdition.

[Ini] His protectors abandoned him and help from above departed from him; for the Lord withdrew on the evil day and left him to be trampled underfoot by wicked men.[2]

[Liwn] The diabolical enemy bent his bow and whetted his cunning dissimulation of love as though it were a sword; wounding him grievously, he brought destruction upon him by night, as formerly it came upon the tribe of Moab.

[Xē] On a deceitful pretext he parted from him, and then, with merciless blows, he wounded the noble man; ⟨thou wert proud

[1] P1, 5, D1, S, E, NA *znaxagah tērut'iwn*; P4, BM, Q *znaxagahut'iwn tearnn mer* 'the sovereignty of our lord'.

[2] P1, S, E, NA *et'ol zna koxan žantiç*; P4, 5, BM, Q . . . *i koxumn žandiç*.

above the nations of the world and wounded deeply those who roused thee, but now the sun hath taken another path, and the sons of thy slaves have rushed brazenly upon thee⟩.[1]

[Ca] The child of evil who sinned against him, the son of lawlessness who ill-used him—may he walk the earth weighed down with maledictions, may he roam and wander in uncertainty like Cain!

[Ken] May twigs entangle him as he flees, birds of the skies crowd in flight above him, crows of the valleys fly at him and wild beasts lie in wait for him!

[Ho] May the fire of Herod be sent against him, worms and rats breed on him, grievous burns inflame him and devour the body of this regicide!

[Ja] May the hand which was raised to kill[2] his master and the feet which trampled on his splendid countenance be shrivelled by a virulent leprosy, and may ringworms break out upon him in cankerous[3] sores.

[Łat] May he hide and rest in the shade of briers, may broods of serpents offend him, may the venom of aspics spread through his body and burst him with excessive swellings.

[Čē] He was the torch of true peace for us; the valiant J̌uanšēr was our pilot, the tamer of the fury of the waves who quelled all risings of those who sought to enslave us.[4]

[Men] Strung with pearls were the words of his mouth, and his life shone with virtue.

[Yi] He would rise from his slumbers like a lion-cub, and going forth at dawn would carry away and distribute the choice morsels of sheep.[5]

[Nu] He would sleep in the body while with waking soul he drove the chariot of Mars among the stars, bravely bearing off the flower of wisdom.

[Ša] The graces of devotion [flow] abundantly in drops from the side of Jesus; his bosom, broad as the ocean, breathes through

[1] P1, D1, S; P4, 5, BM, Q, Ant, E, NA om.

[2] P1, 5, S, E *i spananel*; BM, Q *yapakanel*, P4 *apakanel* 'destroy'.

[3] P1, 5, S, E *čaṙakeł*; P4, BM, Q, Ant. *čaṙageł* 'ugly'.

[4] Here the poem ends in D1, 2, BM, Q, Ant., E, P2–5; it continues in P1, S, NA. Ališan, *Hayapatum, Patmut'iwn Hayoç*, Venice, 1901, 8°, vol. 1, p. 541, n. 2, considers the following verses to be a much inferior continuation. At this point D2 adds 'Remember in Christ the scribe Łunkianos, O good readers'.

[5] P1, S *zblt'aks oč̣xaraç*; S 1 var., NA . . . *nšxaraç* 'pieces, remains'.

his sweet and pleasing nostrils the perfume of immortality, symbol of the Holy Spirit.[1]

[O] My elegy is not upon immortal nymphs or ostrich flocks, but is a bitter lament for a multitude of sons, for you bereft ones left behind, for a deserted town.

[Ča] May not the bitter days of thy painful death be counted among the years of time; may he who so ill-used thee wither in adversity.

[Pē] For us thy shining sun was a light that never failed; alas! that night and gloomy darkness and a lightless body cut off thy countenance from us and cast a shadow, never to be dispersed, over us thy people.

[J̌ē] I burn with anger, I am consumed with grief, when I behold thy exalted throne bereft of thee.

[Ṙa] Thy feet walked in the path of consolation, wherefore my eyes, painful and sore, stream like fountains of tears.

[Sē] The ones thou lovedst burn with love of thee and recall thy never-to-be-forgotten love; O that we were sweet-scented incense and might perfume thy tomb!

[Vew] Our crown has vanished, our throne has gone, and our glory and splendour are buried with thee.

[Tiwn] The shores of Lake Tiberias and the mountains of Lebanon prospered through thee; at the sight of the serpents of the north wind they called for thee, and when thou didst not appear, Huns with their axes felled the pomegranate trees.

[Rē] Hosts of kings are clothed in mourning for thee; the veils of brides are covered thick with dust.

[Ço] They grieve and grieve and bitterly weep.

[Hiwn] They lament and sit alone, like birds whose chicks have died.

[P'iwr] They hasten to cast away their robes, despising glory; through thee we learned again the vanity of fame and how none may remain on earth.

[K'ē] It would be sweet to speak of other things, for sad it is to lament, but sweetest of all would be to die with thee!

[1] This passage is obscure. P1, S *šnorhk' astuacpaštut'ean yordahos šaržmamb i kaylakaç kołiçn Yisusi. coç covasaras zHogwoyn arak eleal* (S 1 var., NA *araykayeal*) *yanušiçn* (NA, P1 *zanušiçn*) *artahosēr yaxoržaçn hototeleaç zhot anmahut'ean.*

Chapter 36. *Varaz-Trdat becomes prince in succession to J̌uanšēr. The Huns seek to avenge the latter's death and Varaz-Trdat makes peace with them*

It came to pass when sorrow abated and grief was dispelled and the dire calamities were somewhat forgotten that the lords of the [chief] families (*teark' tohmiç*), governors (*kusakalk'*), administrators (*kołmnakalk'*), grandees (*mecameck'*), dukes (*naxarark'*), and all the princes of those lands assembled in the presence of the great archbishop Eliazar and deliberated upon the peace and prosperity of the land of Albania. They busied themselves with diligent thoughts concerning the government of the land and agreed unanimously to elect a certain senior naxarar who had been honoured with the imperial title of ex-consul (*apahiwpat*) and had acquired the rank of patrician. His name was Varaz-Trdat, son of Varaz-P'erož brother of J̌uanšēr.[1] Readily and unanimously the princes of the land and the catholicos hastened to put his election into effect, and all the nobles together hailed the animal emblem of the hoisted banners to the sound of trumpets, placed him upon the golden shield and raised him up three times, shouting words of praise.[2] In this way the dignity of the supreme power of the throne of the fatherland was assigned to him amid great rejoicing, and they brought gifts and offerings in honour of his new sovereignty. Prior to this the brave Varaz-Trdat, in his great wisdom and understanding, had shown to all his friendship and considerate goodwill. When he came to sit on the throne of the prince, some of his jealous clansmen (*tohmakiçk'*) behaved coldly towards him, but these he pacified with wise and affable words and won the hearts

[1] See above, ii. 17, p. 109. Varaz-Trdat had succeeded to the principality before the Khazar raid of summer 681 (below, p. 150, n. 1) and Israyēl's mission of 62 H (below, p. 154, n. 1) during the patriarchate of Eliazar (680 or 681 to 688; above, p. 137, n. 1), therefore presumably in 681. He is implied at ii. 38, p. 152, to have had dealings with Sahak III (therefore after 679) and Grigor Mamikonean (therefore before 685). Asołik, ii. 2 (tr. Dulaurier, p. 129), however, relates that 'in the fourth year of Justinian [II, therefore in 688], this prince marched upon Armenia, Georgia, and Albania. He took as prisoner and hostages some of the princes entrusted with the government of these regions. Nersēs . . . became prince of Armenia and Varazdat [i.e. Varaz-Trdat], patrician and exarch, who was second to the king [which?], became prince of Albania.' 688 is too late a date for Varaz-Trdat's accession and must if anything refer to an act of recognition on the part of Justinian.

[2] Cf. Tacitus, *Hist.*, iv. 15, Cassiodorus, *Varia*, x. 31, Ammianus Marcellinus, *Hist.*, xx. iv. 17.

of all. With patience and kindness he induced the country to obey him in accordance with his customary authority. And hastening thither, he took possession of the celebrated capital city of Partaw.

At that time[1] the general and great prince of the Huns, Alp' Ilit'uēr,[2] assembled great numbers of his soldiers and those who came to join him from many places, the vigorous peoples of the land of Gog, all armed and equipped, with generals and ensigns and troops bearing halberds, and archers and cataphracts, armoured and helmeted, and as if to avenge the brave J̌uanšēr, he invaded Albania close to the foot of the great Mount Caucasus through the villages of the canton of Kapałak. Pouring into the plains with his numerous troops, he passed along the river Kur into the province of Uti. There he captured a large number of men and cattle of the region and plundered and bore everything away, and returning thence, he encamped in the plain in the region of the Lp'ink'.

When Varaz-Trdat, prince of Albania, saw the great numbers of the army and the way in which they had invaded and taken many prisoners and devastated everything, he was greatly troubled and concerned. He sent a messenger to the prince of the Huns in the person of the great bishop Ełiazar, expressing through him his sincere good faith and the friendship he truly bore him as for a beloved brother. 'We had no part in the murder of J̌uanšēr', he said. 'This evil and heinous crime was committed by a base and infamous man.' All this the catholicos of Albania reported to the chief of the Huns, and adding other godly and prudent words, he brought him to fear and love God and inclined his mind to peace and indissoluble friendship. He persuaded the prince of the Huns to help and support his prince, and then returned to his own country.

[1] Markwart, *Streifzüge*, p. 443, identifies this raid with the Khazar attack of Asołik, ii. 2, tr. Dulaurier, p. 128, dated 130 A (inc. 9 June 681); it took place before Israyēl's mission, begun 23 December 681 (see below, p. 154, n. 1).

[2] BM, Q *Alpi Lit'uēr-oy*; P2, E *Alpiwli T'uer-oy*; P4 *Alp'ilit'uver-u*; P3 *Alp'iwlē t'uer-oy*; P5 *Alp'iwł t'uel-oy*; S *Albiwli T'uel-ay*; P1 *altiwli t'uel-oy*; D1 *Alteli t'uer-oy*; i.e. Alp the *āl-tābār* (see Markwart, *Streifzüge*, pp. 114–15; Pelliot, *Notes sur l'histoire de la Horde d'Or*, 1950, p. 182 Dunlop, *The History of the Jewish Khazars*, p. 59).

Chapter 37. *The reign of Varaz-Trdat, who receives dignities and honours from many regions. Dawit', bishop of Mec Kueank',[1] dies and Israyēl succeeds him and is a good leader*

THENCEFORTH the godly prince Varaz-Trdat's authority grew daily stronger. He received the highest dignity (*gah*) from the powerful and regal prince of the Tačiks [Arabs], namely, that of governor (*sahmanakal*) of the eastern regions and ruler of the whole kingdom of Albania and the province of Uti, having subjected all to his authority and ruling happily, securely and victoriously over his territories. At that time Dawit', the blessed patriarch of Mec Kueank',[2] returned to his fathers; having fought for what was good he was surnamed 'the Good' in this world, and he took his place among the hosts of fiery angels. His flock remaining without a shepherd, the Church was left in sorrow, and the pious prince of Albania, with his brother general and the catholicos and all the bishops and naxarars, hastened to carry out God's will. 'Come,' he said, 'let us establish this virtuous man Israyēl, the chosen of God, as bishop of the holy diocese of the province of Mec Kołmank', that he may enlighten them with wise legislation following the commandments of the Creator.' Although for a time he would not accept this appointment, they persuaded him by command of the prince, and he did not persist in his obstinacy, remembering the words of the apostle: 'If a man desire the office of a bishop, he desireth a good work' [1 Tim. iii. 1]. He also bore in mind that which had happened long since—the vision which had been revealed to him in the holy church of the town of Vałaršapat, and he raised up his voice and said 'God's will be done'. The prince sent the senior naxarars to him as swiftly as possible, and they arrived at the centre of the province of Arçax and saw him in Glxoy Vank' [the Monastery of the Head] where appointed priests had assembled. These were sent with testimonials to the catholicos and the prince, and they presented to them Israyēl, nursed in holiness, in his monk's habit. All took the letter

[1] BM, Q, V1, 2 *Mec Kueniç*; P4 *Mec Kueneç*; P1, 5, S, E *Mec Kołmanç*.

[2] BM, Q, V1, 2, S, E *Mec Kueniç*; P1, 5, D1, 2, 3 *Mec Kuaniç*. Mec Kołmank' and Mec Kueank' are constantly confused in this chapter; Barxutareanç *Patmut'iwn Ałuaniç*, I, p. 220, takes them to be two names for one and the same canton. See Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen*, p. 349.

of praise, including the general and the naxarars, and they affixed their seals to a deed on behalf of all provinces. The catholicos honoured him and consecrated him bishop of the province of Mec Kołmank', and sent him back to his own province accompanied by a large retinue and the necessary letters. They came to the ancient episcopal palace of Taljank',[1] and greatly honoured by his fellow bishops and the elders and the people, he excelled all by his preaching. Holding the cross and with arms outstretched, he prayed to God for his country. Chaste and pious in behaviour, he made great progress, and he travelled round all the cantons in his diocese. He fortified them by the grace of his teaching in accordance with the true orthodox faith, and thus he demonstrated his learning and shone with the love of Christ.

Chapter 38. *Israyēl is sent by the great prince Varaz-Trdat to the great patriarch of Armenia Sahak in the province of Ayrarat and to the pious prince as an expression of friendship*

At that time the pious prince Varaz-Trdat conceived a wise act, and he sent the bishop Israyēl as a token of his friendship to the great catholicos of Armenia[2] and the pious prince of the province of Ayrarat.[3] They honoured him in a very friendly fashion and came to meet him, and finding him a place to rest, they permitted him to remain for some time in the universal land. At that time the prince and the great general of Armenia had brought from T'ordan in the canton of Daranałik'[4] the precious relics of the martyr in Christ, the great Gregory, with all his bones to the town of Vałaršapat in the province of Ayrarat in the land of Armenia, and they laid him to rest in the newly-constructed vaults of the church constructed by the great Nersēs in the name of St. Gregory. The bishop Israyēl fell down before the catholicos in great supplication and begged him to fulfil the desires of his heart and to grant his request if it were possible.

[1] P4, 5, BM, Q, V1, 2, D2, E, S 1 var. *Talǰansn*; P1, D1, D1, S *Paltansn*.
[2] Sahak III (679–702); see Markwart, *Streifzüge*, p. 514.
[3] Grigor Mamikonean (662/3–685); see ibid.
[4] Cf. MX ii. 91. Vardan, while reporting in ch. xxxv, p. 67, that Grigor Mamikonean fetched these relics from Constantinople 'and gave them to the Albanians at the request of J̌uanšēr and his sister, who was the wife of Grigor' (see above, ii. 18, p. 109, n. 7), reproduces MD's version here in ch. xxxvi, p. 68.

'Give us some of the relics of St. Gregory', he asked. But they would not agree to this, saying: 'The relics of St. Gregory have never been given to anyone and we have no authority to take any part of them and give it to you.' Then Israyēl besought the aid of Hełinē, queen of Greater Armenia, who was also from Albania, and she helped him in this matter. She went with her suite to the catholicos and begged him to grant this request for the relics. She also persuaded her lord, the general of Armenia, to bestow the relics, saying: 'Give my country and the house of my father a share of the relics of the great Gregory, and accede to the request of the bishop sent from my country that his wishes may be fulfilled and that he depart from us with a happy mind.' And the Lord who loves mankind influenced him, and he agreed to give part of the law-giving jaw-bone of the great martyr Gregory and he presented the bishop with this desirable treasure. Honoured with great ceremony, he took leave of the court, and trusting in the grace of God, set off home. They arrived after a few days' journey in their own country, and he took the relics and laid them to rest in his monastery Glxoy Vank'.

Chapter 39. *Prince Varaz-Trdat consults his naxarars with a view to sending the bishop Israyēl to the land of the Huns to make peace*

In the 62nd year of the southern kingdom of the proud Muhammad,[1] Varaz-Trdat, prince of Albania, conferred with his fellow naxarars and the catholicos Eliazar and said: 'The tribute imposed upon us by the cruel people of Arabia (*Tačkastan*) dangerously embarrasses us, while the annual invasions of our country by the forces of the Huns are also terrible calamities for us, for our country is plundered and weakened from both sides by enemy attacks. Come, kinsmen and friends, let us choose a bishop from among those of our land to make peace for us, so that he may go to them and by the grace of God incline the minds of both countries to peace and lasting friendship in order that we may henceforth no longer harbour hatred and enmity for them in our minds.'[2]

[1] Inc. 20 September 681.
[2] For this and previous attempts to convert the Honk', see Markwart, *Streifzüge*, pp. 301–2.

When the princes and the naxarars had considered this matter, they immediately made their choice and sent a summons with many entreaties to the bishop of Mec Kołmank', Israyēl, because, radiant with chaste virtue and spiritual wisdom and ever improving his soul with humility, he was truly admired by all men. He obeyed the commandment to love [his neighbour] and immediately undertook the journey to the distant land of the Huns. Presents and gifts and rations for the long journey were prepared for him and his companions, and they were sent on their way on the eighteenth day of the month of Mehekan. Safely escorted out of the town of Peroz-Kawat, they crossed the river Kur, crossed the Albanian frontier, and arrived at the town of the Lp'ink' on the twelfth day. All the inhabitants of this town came forth to meet him and joyfully received him in a manner befitting a bishop, especially since the divine Feast of Epiphany drew nigh. Entering the town and lodging there they celebrated the feast,[1] and departing again, they passed into the country of the Čiłbk' at the foot of the great mountain. Then the northern blasts of the winter winds raised terrible snowstorms near the summit of Mount Caucasus, and held back for three days, they could not look up or find their way, and utterly fatigued, they were filled with fear by the Satanic battle [of the elements] and kept awake by terror and the great noise. The man of God was not to be dismayed, however, and taking his cross in his hand, he commanded all to fall on their knees; then he led them up the mountain called Vard-ē Gruak,[2] and thanks to the power of the holy cross and the prayers of the great bishop the winds died down and their fury abated, and thus they fearlessly crossed the huge and gigantic summit. After this neither sun nor stars shone for many days and the bad weather continued. Reluctantly they continued their journey abroad,[3] until, forlorn and exhausted, they arrived after

[1] If the Armenian dates fall in 62 H, as they are said to do, the mission set out on 18 Mehekan 130 A = 23 December 681, arrived among the Lupeni on 29 Mehekan = 3 January 682, stayed three nights and then celebrated Epiphany (6 January 682) on 2 Areg.

[2] P1, 2, 3, 5, S *Vardē Gruak anuanēr*; BM, Q, P4 *Vardē druakanun ēr*; V1, 2 *Vard ed ru akn unēr* (corruption of preceding reading). *gruak* is probably Phl. *grīvak* 'Bergnacken' (P. Horn, *Neupersische Etymologie*, p. 203), *ē* an izāfet; for *Vard*, Dr. D. N. Mackenzie suggests a connexion with Kurdish *bar*, *bard* 'stone', occurring in such placenames as *Bardaraš* 'Black Rock', *Bardaspīān* 'White Rock'. Cf. Av. *¹varəta* '1. locus versandi 2. Ball, Klos' (Bartholomae).

[3] *dēm edeal akamay, taradēm gnaçeal.* Patkanean, p. 191, translates as 'they

many days at the site of the ancient royal residence where St. Grigoris, the catholicos of Albania and grandson of the great Gregory, was martyred.[1] After some days they reached the gate of Čołay which is near Darband, and there they received aid and homage from the townspeople. They continued their long journey and came to the magnificent town of Varačan[2] at the beginning of the forty-day fast.[3] When the great prince of the Huns learned of his arrival he went out to greet him, received him with great joy and humbled himself before him, honouring him and paying great respect to his patriarchal holiness. When the days of Lent dawned in splendour, the townspeople received him with a great show of friendship, and they were gladdened and honoured by all, especially by the solicitous prince and the worthy nobles. When the bishop observed the magnificence of this reception and their holy and friendly welcome he was extremely pleased and gave thanks for the ineffable gifts of Christ. Reposing thus for many days from his weary labours, he heard and saw the presumption and self-indulgent religion of the wretched tribe, and he lamented and sorrowed for the enormous wickedness and doubtful faith of these men who called themselves worshippers of God, for they had rejected His power and invented another.[4]

Chapter 40. *Bishop Israyēl converts the Huns* (Honastank') *by his preaching and they listen to him with docility by virtue of the miracles he performs*

For that tribe, demented in their satanically deluded tree-worshipping[5] errors in accordance with their northern dull-witted

reluctantly took a different route', followed by S. T. Eremean, 'Moiseya Kalankatuiskii o posol'tsve albanskogo knyazya Varaz-Trdata k khazarskomu khakanu Alp-Ilitveru' ['Moses of Kałankatuk' on the Embassy of the Albanian Prince Varaz-Trdat to the Khazar Khakan Alp-Ilitver'], *Zap. Inst. Vostokoved.* vii (1939), p. 133; but *taradēm gnal* only means 'go abroad, go to a distant or foreign land, go on a long journey' (see *NBHL*).

[1] See i. 14.

[2] See Markwart, *Streifzüge*, p. 492; Minorsky, *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam*, p. 453; id., 'Addenda to the Ḥudūd al-'Ālam', *BSOAS* xvii (1955), p. 268.

[3] In 682 Lent began on 8 February. The whole journey is therefore shown to have taken six weeks.

[4] P1, 4, 5, BM, D3, S *ōtar gtanēin*; D1 *otark' gtanēin*.

[5] ? BM, Q, S *caṙagot'i*; P5, D3 *caṙay got'i*; P1 *caṙoy got'i*; E *caṙay gsti*; P4 *caṙakodi*; see also below (ii. 41, p. 163). The *Aṙjeṙn baṙaran* interprets this as *caṙapašt, caṙ paštoł* 'tree-worshipping', an intelligent conjecture.

stupidity, addicted to their fictitious and deceptive religion, imagined this filthy heathen cult to be a great religion. If flashes of thundering fiery lightning and ethereal fire struck a man or some material object, they considered him or it to be some sort of sacrifice to a god K'uar.[1] Using horses as burnt offerings they worship some gigantic savage monster whom they invoke as the god T'angri Xan, called Aspandiat by the Persians.[2] Possessing completely anarchical minds they stumble into every sort of error, beating drums and whistling over corpses, inflicting bloody sabre and dagger cuts on the cheek and limbs, and engaging naked in sword fights—O hellish sight—at the graves, man against man and troop against troop, all stripped for battle. Numerous groups wrestled with each other and in the orgy performed swift gallops on horseback, wheeling this way and that. Some were occupied in weeping and wailing, others in a game of diabolical fury. They played their games and danced their dances with obscene acts, sunk in benighted filth and deprived of the sight of the light of the Creator. They made sacrifices to fire and water and to certain gods of the roads, and to the moon and to all creatures considered in their eyes to be in some way remarkable. They were also incontinent sexually and in accordance with their heathen, barbarous customs they married their father's wife, shared one wife between two brothers, and married several women. They had many irreligious laws and unlawful rites, and they could not comprehend or conceive the sun of righteousness. When Israyēl heard and saw this addiction to evil and idolatrous customs, he besought God night and day for the salvation of the land, praying that he might devise a means of converting them. At his command an hour was set aside for God, and all the nobles (*naxarars*) and commoners of the Huns (*Honastanik'*) came to worship the religion of the Holy Church and to hear the message of God. Assembled in the house of the Lord the prince and his countrymen wished to hear the words of the bishop and said to each other: 'Come, let us hear from him words of comfort, for he is a chief in the holy Christian religion,

[1] P1, 5, S, E *K'uar*; Ant. *K'uwar*; P4, BM (*nuireal*)*k' par* (*ų* for *ու*). Prof. W. B. Henning suggests Phl. *χʷar* 'sun'. In Orta-Kipčak Ar. Pers. *χ-*, *h-* are represented by *q-*; see T. Halasi Kun in *Türk dili ve tarihi hakkinda araştırmalar*, I, Ankara, 1950, p. 49 ff. (reference from Professor P. Wittek). Cf. Strabo, xi. 8. 6 (Loeb, v, p. 265): 'They [the Massagetae] regard Helios alone as a god and to him they sacrifice horses.'

[2] See *HAG*, p. 74.

which transmits to the world the message of the Holy Spirit.' When Eliazar saw their enthusiasm and diligent attention he began to speak to them in accordance with his learning and wisdom, saying: 'Children, be converted, and acknowledge the Lord God that He may have mercy upon you and give you life, for He alone is the Lord and creator of all things. Abandon henceforth your worship of abominations, do not worship created things, for all that is of Satan and destroys the soul. No one can serve two masters. No one can drink of the cup of the Lord and the cup of the devils; there is no means of eating at the table of the Lord and the table of the devils. May God not remember your sins deliberate or unintentional, but may He rather cast you into the furnace of knowledge and into the chastisement of righteousness; He who illuminated the whole universe in the font of God, dispelled the mist and darkness from benighted heathen peoples and shone upon them the light of the truth of faith, will also illuminate you by his most radiant grace if you place yourselves before Him with undoubting minds, and firmly and lovingly rooted in the glory of the Son of God acknowledge and believe in the Holy Trinity. For the incorporeal warriors also shout with a holy, threefold voice: "Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of hosts, the whole world is filled with His glory!" You see the power of three persons (*anjnaworut'iwnk'*) and one godhead, as the holy apostles and the martyr Gregory first handed on to us: the Father from Himself (*yanjnē*), the Son from the Father, and the Holy Spirit from their being (*ēut'iwn*). The whole earth is full of His glory. That is the teaching of the gospel in accordance with the words of the Saviour, a testimony unto all heathens which was fulfilled and spread over the universe; as the Psalm says: "their line is gone out through all the earth, and their words to the end of the world" [Ps. xviii. 5 = A.V. xix. 4]; and another prophet says: "the earth is full of the knowledge of the Lord, as the many waters which cover the seas" [Isa. xi. 9]. And behold, we see today that the teaching of the word of God is presented to you and impressed upon you and is sown and bears fruit in the field of your heart where in the hands of skilled husbandmen it yields abundant fruit, an hundredfold, sixtyfold, and thirtyfold. Now with such abundance within you, what compels you to allow the bird of death to approach the pure and flowery meadows of your soul? Know you not that our first father Adam was driven out of Paradise for this and inherited the thorny,

thistle-bearing earth? To this the apostle testifies [cf. Rom. i. 21 ff., and v. 1 ff.]. The lawless prince, desiring to become a god, stretched forth his hand and bound all men in sin; growing envious of the honour of the first created man, he incited him to perverse vices and led him into the snares of corruption, murder, and all crimes, and he and all his family became father to the seed of tribulation and curses. As is also said in Genesis: "Lamech took unto him two wives" [iv. 19]; and Jubal, son of Lamech, fashioned lyres for songs, and trumpets and harps and drums and all artificial sounds, which are the fashioners of idolatry and the inciters of lechery. Nebuchadnezzar also commissioned these metal voices and foolishly summoned [his people] to the idolatrous worship of a huge golden image, to which he set up an altar and for which a service of dedication was held in public. Do you see then the infinite wickedness of the diabolical race of Cain? For as murder is of Satan, so is the taking of two wives, and the fabrication of harmonious songs is of the same tempter. Instead of promises of good things, God poured down upon those who, given to adultery and the extravagant designs of the race of Seth, fornicated with the daughters of malediction a scourging torrent of rain and universal destruction. Noah, because he alone of that race was found to be a just man from a righteous house, was saved by his faith and holiness at God's command from the chastizing flood together with his family. Thus precious and valuable is faith and holiness. Lo, Canaan was cursed on account of the mocking effrontery of Ham, as one reads in the story: "Cursed be the boy Canaan; he shall be a servant unto his brethren" [Gen. ix. 25]. We see that from his race arose the giant Nimrod who by his legendary sorcery beguiled all nations into heaping up stones to build a tower. He himself, puffed up on account of his powerful build and gigantic size, ruled over all; as it is written: "And the beginning of his kingdom was Babel" [Gen. x. 10]. After the destruction of the man-made tower and the confusion of tongues, Nimrod, as we have learned from certain historical chronicles, likening himself to the gods, grew so proud and haughty that he commissioned sculptors to carve a gilded image from silver and brass and gave it his name. Many of these erring nations offered sacrifices to that idol, just as now we see you err hither and thither in untrodden paths in senseless and superstitious battles owing to the trickery of spell-binding sorcerors and geomancing wizards. And to some Aspandiat, a savage giant, you

sacrifice burnt horses, and do not stop to consider how the lover of impure things could be pure; for as those sacrifices are filthy and unclean, so all those who bring offerings to Aspandiat are abominable and filthy in the eyes of God; as it is written: "Every wicked man is abominable to the Lord, and has no intercourse with the just" [Prov. iii. 32]. Similarly, you invoke as a god the ethereal lightning flash which flares from the sound of thunder and call it a saviour. Why can you not understand, you sorry thinkers, why the flashes of lightning and rolls of thunder in the clouds cease during the six months of severe winter frosts? Is it not because the lightning flashes at the nod of God our Creator and ceases at his behest, and dares not appear in the wintertime? It is evident from this that they are not gods, but creatures of God the Creator. You have erred greatly in disregarding the text which says that "gods that have not made the heavens and the earth shall perish from the earth" [Jer. x. 11]. Know and see that God is alone in His authority and that above Him there is no one; He is the Creator of all things visible and invisible, God the only-begotten Son, begotten of the Father, and the Holy Spirit, of their nature, whereby the world also came into being.

'Cast henceforth your old errors away, renew your hearts and choose what is good, for Jesus Christ came to the world to save sinners; come and turn to Him through repentance. Do not worship the sun and the moon, but worship God who made the sun and the moon and the sea and everything in them; for those who worship the sun and the moon shall inherit unquenchable fire, and those who sacrifice to the waters shall sink like rocks in abundant waters. As for those who worship leafy trees and bring them offerings, the holy scriptures have this to say of them: "the fire shall burn all the wood of the field, and shall consume all the ungodly and shall not go out". And about those who have attached to their persons golden or silver images of the *višap* serpent[1] it is written: "their silver and gold shall not save them in the day of the wrath of the Lord, who alone is able to lift the heavy burdens of torment and hell eternal from disobedient sinners who may be as ungodly as heathens".'

This and more did the great chief-priest Israyēl say.

[1] See refs. in Dowsett, *BSOAS* xix (1957), p. 468, n. 2, to which may be added A. S. Mnaçakanean, *Haykakan zardarvest* (*Armyanskoe ornamental'noe iskusstvo*), Erevan, 1955, pp. 547–57.

Chapter 41. *The Huns believe in Christ through Bishop Israyēl; the altars are destroyed and the cross of Christ set up*

GREATLY encouraged by listening to the words of the man of God, the good, exalted prince Alp' Ilut'uēr and his army, who had heard his flowery preaching and sweet-tongued counsel with pleasure, glorified God, saying: 'Now we truly believe that the Lord has through this man sent us the comfort of His grace, in order that he may deliver us from black deeds and satanic acts.' Submitting thenceforth to the yoke of vassalage to Christ they observed Lent in purity and temperance, fasting and praying night and day with spiritual zeal. Each man vied with his neighbour in the worship of the Holy Church and forgot his previous gluttonous error, cleansing his mind thereof through the enlightening counsel of the holy bishop. The godly prince, together with his closest ministers (*mōtakay surhandakovn*), undertook to observe piously year by year the seven weeks of fasting, for he was a very sincere man. He at once carried out God's commandment, and having himself become pious, he persecuted the sons of darkness. Believing thus in His glorious teaching he grew daily more glorious for love of Christ and became a dwelling-place for the coveted holy faith. This man of earth-born parentage became a son of the grace of God and a kinsman of the life-giving life. Powerful and resolute, he was valiant and renowned in battle and, like the Greeks at Olympus, appeared strong to all men; and he inherited the glory and renown of valour and performed many feats of bravery in Turkestan with the Khazar Khan[1] whereby he gained his affection and [the Khan] was obliged to promise and give his daughter in marriage to him. He himself achieved the rank of *il-ituēr*[2] and was renowned in three lands for accepting like a crown of glory the counsel and brilliant teaching of the bishop. Little by little he strove to abolish the frenzied laments for the dead and the bewitched sword-fights, considering the religion of his fathers abominable and unclean, and to destroy the altars of Aspandiat and sacrifices to other false gods in favour of the worship of the living God, the creator of heaven and earth, the only-begotten Son, and the coequal (*hamazōr*) Spirit. Re-

[1] V1, 2 *aṙ Xazr xakanin*; P1, 4, 5, D1, 2, 3, BM *aṙ Xazriakanin*; S *aṙ Xazrakanin*; E *aṙ Xazriakann.*

[2] P4, BM *ew zlit'uērut'ean berelov patiw*; V1, 2 . . . *zəlit 'uērut'ean* . . .; P1, 5, S, E *ink'n i cerut'eann berelov patiw* 'himself being honoured in his old age'.

jecting from his mind all other evil things, he became as a newborn babe and thirsted for unadulterated milk. He built churches in many places and honoured the priests of God. From among the tall, leafy oak-trees (which were dedicated to the abominable Aspandiat and to which they sacrificed horses, pouring their blood over the trees and throwing their heads and skins over the branches[1]) the bishop ordered one to be cut down, namely the one which was the chief and mother of all the tall trees dedicated in the name of the vain gods and which many of the land of the Huns worshipped, the prince and the nobles included, for they held it of all the idols to be the saviour and life-giver and bestower of all good things. When they heard that he had ordered the huge tree dedicated to the giant to be cut down, which much offended them and threatened to destroy them, the sorcerers, wizards, and chief pagan priests uttered a wail, tore their garments, and cried with a loud voice to the prince of the Huns and the nobles of the land, saying: 'How can you knowingly support and consider doing that which our opponent and the enemy of our gods tells you to do, that is, to cut down that tree? Why did you listen to him in the first place and agree to demolish and lay waste and destroy the altars of our temples which your fathers, kings and princes, erected? Hitherto our entire land worshipped them and received good gifts from the gods of these temples and from the sacred trees, the increase of our people and might and victory in battles against your enemies. And now will you pay attention to him and obey his word and give him authority to remove and ruin and destroy the fanes of our gods? Did you not receive good things and whatever you asked for when you worshipped and sacrificed to the tree in the name of the gigantic and brave Aspandiat? He made the sick whole, he raised up the poor and the needy; in scorching droughts and burning heatwaves we brought you rain through his power, rain which cooled the excessive heat, made green the plants and trees and plumped full the fruit for your delight and nourishment. Likewise we

[1] Cf. the Ossetic *bäxfäldisun*, &c., in R. Bleichsteiner, 'Rossweihe und Pferderennen im Totenkult der kaukasischen Völker', *Die Indogermanen- und Germanenfrage*, Univ. Inst. für Völkerkunde, Vienna, 1936, pp. 415 ff. The detail concerning the pouring of the horse's blood over the trees might indicate that the cup represented on the sculpture depicting a horse sacrifice found in Kubachi in Daghestan (*apud* Bleichsteiner, p. 463) was, as Baschkirow maintained, for the horse's blood rather than for a libation to be sprinkled over the sacrifice, as Bleichsteiner takes it to be.

appeased for you the tumult of ethereal thunder and lightning from the clouds and heavy rains. Will you now believe the mistaken words of that man and worship the god he now proclaims? You must not abandon and renounce the native gods whom you and your forefathers worshipped and fall into the hands of one who will throw you down and grind you underfoot. Worship them that they may not in indignation fly into a rage and chastize our land with great and grievous afflictions. Who will dare to approach the place where the temples and altars of Aspandiat of gigantic strength are built and set up, or the fair-blossomed tree, the guardian and saviour of our land? For whosoever in his ignorance took the fallen leaves or wood of that tree for his own needs was punished with evil sores and lunacy and death itself, and it destroyed his house and family. And now, will he be able to approach it and cut it down, and destroy the temples of our gods? We know that if he obstinately persists in this and goes near it, he shall be punished with merciless afflictions, and it shall cost him his life.'

Then the prince of the Huns answered the wizards and sorcerers and magicians and the worshippers of idols and trees, and said: 'We have been convinced. We believe this man and worship and serve the God whom he has proclaimed to us. We shall not prevent him from destroying the idols or from uprooting and cutting down the tree and burning it. If you are able to frighten him by means of your idols and temples and sacred trees or plunge him into the agonies of dire disease or to bring death upon him, we shall believe in you, and we shall resume the building and worship of fanes and idols and graven images, and shall worship trees and offer sacrifices and offerings to them as before. But if you are not able to withstand him or frighten him and he destroys and demolishes the idols and temples and cuts down this tree and burns it, and no disease, nor death, comes upon him, then we shall be convinced that he was sent to us by God, and we shall worship the one God who made heaven and earth and the sun and the moon and the stars. And I shall bind you hand and foot and deliver you into his hands, and he shall burn you with the trees and temples.'

Thereupon the sorcerers and wizards and magicians began in frenzied aphrodisiac witchery to perform incantations and false geomancy ⟨and to utter spells[1] and mumblings⟩,[2] but they could

[1] S *uṙut's*; S, D1, E, S1 var. *uṙoyç* 'swellings'; P1, 5, D2 *uṙuç*.
[2] P4, BM, V1, 2 om.

achieve nothing by their false, erroneous arts. For on occasions prior to this they would bind men with invisible bonds and inflict grievous sufferings upon whomsoever they wished by casting demons into them, and then make the following deceitful announcement to them: 'You must make sacrifices and bring offerings to the idols and trees; this you have not done, and therefore this punishment has been sent upon you by our great gods. Perform now the sacrifices and bring offerings to the trees and idols, and you shall be delivered from these diseases and sufferings.' And the victim would do as they said and fulfil the will of Satan. And sometimes they would conjure up fantastic visions and make heavy rains appear, and then dry them up again with devilish and satanical perversions. In these many ways did they offend and destroy their land, for they erred themselves and caused the weak-minded to err also. Now, however, they could not put one of these things into effect, nor could they frighten the man of God or prevail against him, for all their powers were checked by the holy cross. The bishop, the holy legislator, addressed the prince of the Huns and the nobles as follows: 'I am not in the least dismayed or frightened by their idle words, for they who seek to scare me by their idolatrous witchcraft as they have scared other dull-witted men are without any hope of the true life of God. I am not afraid of the tall trees or idols which stand before me in all shapes and sizes. I shall act openly in the presence of you all, trusting fearlessly in the grace of the holy cross of Christ. I shall dispel the doubts of your hearts and your tree-worshipping[1] error concerning things which are nothing in themselves and can do neither good nor evil, and cannot resist their enemies. See with your own eyes how at my hands these dumb idols shall topple and be thrown underfoot and trampled upon in the paths of the land.'

Then the bishop commanded the priests to take axes in their hands and to fall upon their knees and pray, calling upon God with this psalm: 'Let God arise, and let His enemies be scattered; let them that hate Him flee from His countenance' [Ps. lxvii. 2 = A.V. lxviii. 1]. Then, making the sign of the cross over the very tall tree dedicated in the name of the abominable Aspandiat, and entering the grove, the priests together felled the tree. The bishop ordered it to be taken into the town of Varaẓan, and summoning

[1] P1, 5, BM, S *caṙagot'i*; P4, *caṙagōt'i*; E *caṙagodi*; V1, 2 *caṙoy got'i*. See above, p. 155, n. 8.

skilled carpenters he ordered them to transform it into a beautifully balanced well-finished cross with painted ornaments; and he made various images and glued them to it, covering it with accurately painted pictures, embellishing it from top to bottom with similar beautiful things. He likewise fastened shining crosses to it, arranging them beautifully in a row from one end to the other along the right side with strong nails, and at the base he made a little square door which could be opened from both sides and upon which a lily was carved; inside this there was a silver cross containing a relic of the Lord's cross.

Having thus arranged and decorated the tree with many wonderful ornaments, he erected it as a place of pilgrimage and prayers[1] in the royal court facing the east, and he said: 'Before this symbol which brings salvation to all, worship the Lord your God, that you who were accustomed to worship your tree in the error of your minds might still in accordance with your habit and custom worship this cross and the invisible image of the Divinity. Since you eat and drink the flesh and blood of your animal sacrifices offered to the demons before the trees, He has erected His cross in the midst of your land and in place of the blood of the sacrifices He has given His blood for the redemption of us all. I know that you did what you did out of ignorance, but henceforth come before the throne of the grace of God, cast out all the evil sins of your iniquity, and become worthy of clothing yourselves in the robes of the light of glory.'

Then the pious prince of the Huns Il-it'uēr, when he and the nobles heard this, was inflamed with love and fear of God. He saw that not one of the evils with which the wizards said the trees of the idols would punish the bishop, making him fall down in grievous sufferings and the throes of death, came upon him, but that on the contrary, more glorious than ever, he rejoiced and grew strong in the service of Christ. And they were still more strengthened in the faith and listened to his preaching. Then, in his stern authority, the prince gave orders to seize the diabolically deluded, demoniac tribe of sorcerers and wizards and the principal chief priests and to bind them hand and foot and bring them before the man of God to be delivered into his hands. The bishop ordered certain of them to be cast into the fire on the highways at the crossroads in order to rid the land of all false

[1] BM *yuxti ew i xndruacoç teli*; S, E *yuxti ew i xndruacoç anun.*

religious cults and to subject it more easily to the yoke of service to Christ. He commanded the pagan golden images which others had fastened upon themselves to be taken away, and with his own hands, in the presence of all, he crushed them into the shape of the Lord's cross.[1] In this way he demonstrated his piety to all men.

All these arrangements were made during the holy forty days of Lent in the numerous royal camps of Honastan, and were carried out by the will of the Lord God through the bishop Israyēl with the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, whereby the grace of the gifts of the ineffable glories of Christ were spread abroad. When the sun-like radiance of Holy Easter dawned, many of the chief pagan priests and principal magic sorcerers were still in painful fetters, but with the consent of Prince Il-it'uēr all the citizens were assembled and a court and tribunal constituted. When each side was disputing before the crowded assembly, the bishop began to preach from the holy scriptures, and sternly refuted them and put them to shame. The wretched priests of the false religion were put to shame by the Lord's cross which the bishop held constantly in his hand, and were discouraged and disheartened, and accusing themselves, they confessed their sins and were converted to the true faith. They gave their destructive dice of witchcraft into the hands of the bishop, who burned them, and they themselves were made worthy of rebirth in the holy font.

When the prince of the Huns saw this, he, in common with the entire multitude, was still more strengthened in the love of the Christian faith and estranged from the vain worship of abominations. On the day of the consecration of the newly decorated image of the cross which the bishop had erected in the royal court, the prince and all the nobles offered sacrifices. When the priests were about to sing blessings over the gifts before the cross, the bishop said to the prince: 'Behold the declaration of your love of God. Today repay the Lord in order to reconcile yourselves with Him, that henceforth He might no longer hinder and obstruct you. Moreover, the Holy Spirit tests you pagan priests in this way so that you also may become perfect, as your heavenly Father is perfect. Now, agree to this: first let the so-called royal graves of the thunder-*ǰop'ayk'*[2] be burned on this great day by those

[1] With this Christian adaptation of pagan objects of worship, cf., for example, the method of St. Nunē in Georgia (MX ii. 86).

[2] P4, BM, V1, 2 *orotəntost ǰop'ayiçd širimk'd ark'unand koǰeçeal*; P1, D1 . . .

chief priests who now confess the faith. Let them load them with curses and burn them; then let them be baptized and eat food.'

When the pious prince of the Huns heard this, he immediately authorized him to destroy the sanctuaries. Then the bishop and the prince sent Movsēs, a man skilled in the arts, and other priests to demolish and burn down the sanctuaries with the co-operation of the ranks of pagan chief priests, and together they burned down the filthy temples of the hero-idols. The bishop himself came to the high place opposite the idols, knelt down, and made the sign of the cross. A violent wind blew and fanned the flames of the tall idols and the *ç̌op'ayk'* with the filthy skins of the altars. They then returned with great joy into the town and became clothed in light through baptism. And that day the prince and the nobles performed the feast of feasts and the solemnity of solemnities.

Chapter 42. *The consultation of the great prince of the Huns Il-it'uēr with his nobles in order that the bishop Israyēl might remain with them to establish a patriarchal see there*

THE great prince of the Huns wisely conferred with all the nobles and *naxarars* of his domains and said 'Formerly ignorant darkness, the obscurer of the soul, surrounded us, and we were unable to see the light of righteousness of the whole world. Now our Lord Jesus Christ has sent us in His mercy this bishop to lead us to life; in word and deed he has rebuked and punished our impiety, and has led us to know God the creator of all things and His wonderful power, which my mind entirely and truly believes and acknow-

širimk'ə ark'unakan . . .; D3, E . . . *širimk' dark'unand* . . .; S . . . *širimk' ark'unakan*. . .; P5 *širimk'd ark'unakand*. Ačaṙean, *Nor baṙer*, i, p. 30, complains that S's reading suppresses 'the interesting word *dark'unand*'; it should be suppressed, for the initial *d* belongs to the preceding word and the remainder is corrupt. I have read . . . *ç̌op'ayiçd širimk'd ark'unakan(k')d* . . . The *Aṙjeṙn baṙaran* explains *ç̌op'ay* as 'the skin and head of a horse sacrificed to trees', a conjecture founded upon the present passage. It means rather the remains of a person or animal struck by lightning. Prof. L. Bazin has suggested to me a connexion with Tk. *çöp* 'remains', also used in the sense of 'remains of sacrifices' in the *Codex Cumanicus;* see K. Grønbech, *Komanisches Wörterbuch*, København, 1942, p. 76. The word is preserved in various Caucasian languages. In Ossetic *coppay* means a ceremonial dance around a victim struck by lightning, a refrain sung at the burial of the same, and a rite at the time of drought (V. F. Miller, *Osetinsko-Russko-Nemetskii Slovar'*, pt. III, Leningrad, 1934, p. 1672). For cognate words and descriptions of the rites, see V. I. Abaev, *Istoriko-etimologicheskii slovar' osetinskogo yazyka*, t. I, Moscow–Leningrad, 1958, pp. 314–16.

ledges. So we have come to believe in one God, maker of heaven and earth. Let us take as our model all the lands believing in this faith, and the great kingdom of the Romans. They say there was once a king Constantine who built Constantinople; they say he was the first Christian of the kingdom and such a faithful man that the angel of God ministered to him, and that with this faith he powerfully and victoriously destroyed all his enemies. Now, if it is possible by virtue of the Christian faith to become so glorious and victorious, why should we hesitate to believe in the living God? Here is this man, the bishop Israyēl, the teacher of God's commandments. Let us go to him and beg him to stay in our land and enlighten us.'

They decided upon this course unanimously, and the prince sent to the bishop Israyēl a certain senior prince named Awç̌i ['hunter'], a soldier who held the rank of *t'arxan*,[1] and his chamberlain Č̣at'kasar.[2] When they came to him, they informed him of the decision of the conference, namely, that the great prince of the Huns and all the nobles said: 'Father, we have come to know our creator through you, and we shall always believe in and worship the Holy Trinity. We beseech Your Holiness to agree to be our bishop and teacher and to found a patriarchal see in our town of Varač̣an. I, Il-it'uēr, shall conclude an agreement with you in the name of the Lord and shall burn the sorcerers and wizards who will not adopt the faith, and I shall put to the sword any person who acts like a pagan in my land or sacrifices to idols in secret. ⟨May piety prosper and the ineffable gifts of Christ be proclaimed.⟩'[3]

He answered them: 'I am not empowered to act independently of the great patriarch of Albania, the holy Eliazar; he has authority in this matter. I have a well-regulated diocese; how could I desert the flock which God has given me to tend? But may Christ the Lord take care of you, prosper you, and bless you, and give you on account of your faith a shepherd to watch over you with the gospel of Christ.' The messengers came a second and a third time and said

[1] S *or i zōru t'arxanut'ean unēr patiw*; P5, D1 *ork' zōrk'* . . .; P1 *ork' zōrk' t'arxanut'eamb* . . .; D3 *ark' zawrawork'* . . . 'powerful men'; E *ayr zōrawor* . . . 'a powerful man'; P4, BM *or zturk'* . . . 'who (held) the Turkish (rank of *t'arxan*)'. *t'arxan* = Tk. title *tarqan* (see Chavannes, *Documents*, p. 19, n. 2).

[2] P1, 4, 5, BM, V1, 2, S, E, S 1 var; *Kat'kasar*. Does this represent Šat' Xazr (š for č), as MD iii. 23, p. 229 and Kirakos, p. 98, call the son of Jebu Xak'an?; for the rank *šad*, see above, ii. 11, p. 83, n. 4. See variants below, p. 168, n. 4.

[3] BM om.

the same thing, and the bishop said: 'Leave me now until God suffers me to return to my country and to my pious son Varaz-Trdat, prince of Albania, and the holy catholicos. If it please God and them, God shall do as you ask; ⟨who [should refuse] the honour which you promise?[1] If I am tortured by you with cruel and mortal torments, however, I shall consider this a glory and honour for myself and shall rejoice in the Lord⟩.[2] You must inform the whole land of Albania of your decision in writing, and also the patriarch, [now] Eliazar, who from the time of St. Elišē till now has alone been granted the apostolic see of the north-east by the city of Jerusalem where God dwelt and which was consecrated by St. James, the brother of the Lord. Without the consent of all the fathers and brothers and my fellow bishops, how can I do what you ask? The question is a new one, and consultation is essential.'

Hearing all this from the bishop, they gave the command and sent him back to his country with honour.

Chapter 43. *The return of Israyēl, bishop of Mec Kołmank', from the Huns, followed by two nobles asking for him as their leader*

THE great and pious prince of the Huns Il-it'uēr equipped and prepared the *il-tigin* of Khorasan[3] and Čat'n Xazr[4] from among the chiefs of his country to follow the holy Israyēl as ambassadors of goodwill. The form of their letter was as follows: 'We have seen and received Bishop Israyēl, the man of God sent by you, and through him we greet you, the holy Lord Eliazar, great patriarch of Albania, and our beloved brother Varaz-Trdat, sovereign prince of Albania. You requested physical peace from us, and we saw him come with his spiritual greeting like an image of God, and through his saintly conduct and the wonderful miracles revealed by the Most High, we recognized our creator and acquired peace

[1] P1, 5, D1, 3 *patiwd ayd zor xostanayk'*; S *[ē or oč anduni] patiwd* . . . 'who [is there who will not accept] the honour? . . .'; D2 *oč ē im patiwd* 'that is not my honour'; E *oč ē vasn im patiwd* . . . 'the honour . . . is not for me'.

[2] P4, BM om.

[3] D1 *zirt'ginn xurasanay*; V1, 2 *zirt' ginn. xorasanaç*; P4 *zert'ginn xorsanaç*; P5, BM, Q *zirt'ginn xursanaç*; E *zIrt'ginn Xursanç*; S *zErt'ginn Xursanaç*; P1 *zert'ginn Xurasanaç*.

[4] P4, 5, BM *zčat'n xazrn*; *E. zČat'n Xazr*; D1 *zkatxazs*; P1 *zKat'xazs*; S *zKat'n Xazr*.

for our souls. Now we ask you to allow this same Israyēl, through whom many of us found eternal salvation, to be our bishop and leader, that our inviolable friendship with you may be confirmed. Greetings in the Lord.'

Chapter 44. *The letter from the prince of the Huns to Armenia to the same effect*

'TO the holy bishop Sahak of Greater Armenia and to the praiseworthy prince Grigor, general of Armenia, many greetings. From the beginning of time our fathers, benighted by ignorance, darkness and fog, have slept. But Salvation came to the world: God the Most High came to earth as Christ. We heard this with our own ears, but only indistinctly, and during our raids into your country and the house of Albania (for you and the whole world have one faith), a virtuous spirit of emulation entered our hearts also, and the Word of Christ our God was fulfilled. At the northernmost end of the world His gospel is preached, and we learned everything from one excellent man Israyēl, bishop of Mec Kołmank'. Now that you have heard from those who have come to you about the miracles that took place among us, grant our request and have the kindness to send us the same man as our bishop. We have also requested him from the holy patriarch Eliazar. Knowing you to be his colleague and fellow Christian, we beseech you both to grant our spiritual request, that through his presence among us and our sharing the one faith attacks from barbarous tribes may be averted. Farewell.'

When they came to Albania and Armenia, they greeted them and told them all that God had done through Israyēl in the land of the Huns. They delivered the letters of the great prince of the Huns and the whole land welcomed them with great joy and gave this answer:

Chapter 45. *The reply to the letter of the Huns*

'FROM Sahak, catholicos of Armenia, and all the clergy, from Grigor, prince of Armenia, and from all the laymen of the church, greetings in the Lord.

'For the life-giving salvation granted you by God, as it was

described to us, we have with unlimited joy given thanks for the ungrudging gifts of Christ. We have seen the letter which you, newly consecrated servants of God, have written to us, and from it we have perceived the goodness of the Creator, who has caused the light of the knowledge of God to shine in your country as in every country. We have glorified God, who loves mankind, for He has not abandoned you to the vain forms of worship of your forefathers, but has made known to you His holy name, and you have become true worshippers of God your creator. When we heard from your letters and ambassadors how you were converted wholeheartedly by Bishop Israyēl, we learned that His name has spread to the ends of the earth. It seems to us now that we and our country, although we are far from you in the flesh, have through the friendship of our hearts seen you before us. Concerning your request for the bishop Israyēl, your opinion that a flock without a shepherd is an impossible thing is very sound, and it is difficult and painful for us to refuse your request. The fact is, however, that he is not appointed by our see, but by the house of Albania. Our wish and inclination is that he should always be with you, but an instruction to this effect is the prerogative of our patriarchal colleague Eliazar, patriarch of Albania, and it is for him to decide. Acknowledge the living God, who gives life to men, causes them to die and live again. May the same grace of the Holy Spirit strengthen you in fear of the Lord and in keeping His commandments. We after our heart's desire shall never fail to remember you in our churches. Farewell.'

When the *il-tigin* of Khorasan[1] and Čat'n Xazr[2] returned from Armenia and stood before the catholicos Eliazar and the prince Varaz-Trdat in the capital city of Partaw, they requested permission to have the bishop, but the Albanians did not wish to give them Israyēl as their leader and said: 'He must not abandon the flock entrusted to him by God in order to be with you, but we command him to come and go [between the two countries] as often as he can, to confirm you in the faith of Christ and to safeguard the inviolable friendship we have for each other. Now we are allies, for by his intercession between you and ourselves he shall rid us of the enmity between us and friendship and peace shall flourish.'

When the princes heard this, they were troubled by these

[1] P4, 5, BM, Q, E *zit'ginn xursan*; V1, 2 *zet' ginn. xorasan*; S *Ert'ginn Xursanaç* P1 *čit'ginn Xurasan.* [2] P1, 4, 5, BM, E; S, P5 (margin) *Kat'n Xazr.*

decisions, and assenting against their will they said: 'Let him not be slow in coming to visit us; let not the foundation of our faith again be destroyed, and may he not abandon us like orphans, for we shall not obey and submit to another teacher.'

And the blessed bishop, true to his gentle nature, brought prosperity to both sides, willingly undertaking to visit the Huns and tend the newly converted flock of Christ, and to abide firmly by the covenant and the conditions of the treaty. Persuaded by the words of the gracious bishop, they were filled with joy and returned home in peace, glorifying the all-holy Trinity.

Chapter 46. *The question asked by Dawit', bishop of Mec Kołmank', of Yovhann Mayrogomeçi,*[1] *concerning images and pictures*

In the days when Lord Uxtanēs, and after him Eliazar, directed the patriarchate of Albania, the land of Albania remained unaffected by the confusion and heresy which arose among both learned and ignorant men in many places and the disputes and quarrels which broke out between the Greeks and Armenians. The news reached them, however, that certain people would not accept icons, while others would not practise baptism or bless the salt or impose the wedding crown in marriage, all by reason of the fact that the priesthood was removed from the land. On account of these things Dawit', bishop of Mec Kołmank', wrote and asked Yovhann, an Armenian doctor, the cause of these matters, and he informed him accurately as follows:

'This heresy appeared after the apostles, and iconoclasm first arose among the Greeks; on this account a great council was convened in Caesarea which decreed that images were to be displayed in the house of God. Hereupon the painters became arrogant and claimed to be superior to all other church artists. "Our art", they said, "is light itself, for young and old can understand it, while few can read the holy scriptures." Confusion arose again, and another council held to examine the matter justified the scribes and readers

[1] Cf. Asołik, ii. 2 tr. Dulaurier, pp. 118–20; Arseni K'atalik'oz, *Ganqop'isat'us K'art'lisa da Somxit'isa* [*Schism between Georgia and Armenia*] in Th. Zhordaniya, [*Chronicles*], Tiflis, 1892–7, p. 321. See also S. Der Nersessian, 'Une apologie des images au septième siècle', *Byzantion*, xvii (1944–5), pp. 58–87.

and commentators and ranked them above the painters, and from that time down to the days of Movsēs, catholicos of Armenia, the heresy no longer manifested itself. Then, at the time of the schism in the Armenian patriarchate, a great dispute broke out between Movsēs and T'ēodoros, bishop of Karin (Theodosiopolis), called "the chief philosopher", and we orthodox believers denounced all the Greek sects. Movsēs summoned a synod of the doctors of divinity in his region and instructed them not to commune with the Greeks who submitted to the Council of Chalcedon, for their deeds were false, and not to accept any books, icons, or relics from them. T'ēodoros then ordered the bishops in his part of Armenia to assemble in the town of Karin, saying: "We must elect a catholicos." And they fetched a certain stylite called Yohan, consecrated him, and submitted to the Chalcedonian sect. Not one of them sought the true faith except the blessed Enos, who left them and joined the catholicos Movsēs, and was joyfully received. Movsēs sat in Dwin as catholicos, and the Greeks thought fit to establish Yohan's patriarchal residence near by in Awan, and there was discord between them, for those consecrated by Yohan were not recognized by Movsēs. Then a priest named Yesu, with T'addēos and Grigor,[1] who were from Movsēs' see, left Dwin, went to the canton of Sot'k' and dwelt in the wilderness, for they were hermits. And they began to preach, saying: "Destroy the images painted in the churches, and do not commune with worldly priests." Confusion arose in the province and the news reached the patriarch Movsēs, who wrote that they should return immediately; they would not obey his order, however, but left and took up residence in your province of Arçax. When the patriarch asked his scholars about the deeds of these men, they said that the cause lay in the Greek error. They then wrote the following letter:[2] "Let no one offend the icons in the churches." On the death of the patriarch Movsēs and the establishment of Xosrov as ruler, the country was reunited, and they established as patriarch Abraham, a true and worthy man who, having first denounced and anathematized the renegade Council of Chalcedon, was thereupon consecrated. The iconoclasts who had descended upon Albania, however, polluted the country. Then the lord of Gardman seized the three men named in the letter and had them brought in chains to Armenia. They

[1] See Der Nersessian, loc. cit., p. 73.

[2] See N. Akinean, *Handēs Amsōrea*, 1910, pp. 38–39, Der Nersessian, ibid.

appeared before us, and when we asked "Why do you not accept the image of God incarnate?," they replied "Because it is foreign to the commandments and is the act of idolaters who worship all created things; we do not worship icons because the scriptures do not command us to do so." Then we pointed out to them the painting on the tabernacle of Moses and the various sculptures in the temple of Solomon and how they were made in our churches also, and having informed them of this and other like things, we corrected their error.'

Chapter 47. *Information concerning the time when the evil Council of Chalcedon was cursed, and how Albania remained unaffected by the heresy; the schism of the Georgians from the Armenians, and what the catholicos Abraham did concerning the Albanians*

IT was in the forty-third year of the Roman era that Armenia was converted to the faith,[1] and Albania was converted 270 years previously.[2] One hundred and eighty years after the conversion of Armenia, in the days of Babgen, catholicos of Armenia, a council was convened concerning the world-destroying Council of Chalcedon.[3] Greece, Italy, Armenia, Albania, and Georgia unanimously cursed the infamous Council of Chalcedon and the tome of Leo at the command of the pious kings Zeno and Anastasius. Eighty-seven years later, in the days of Abraham, catholicos of Armenia, the Georgians separated from the Armenians through the accursed Kiwrion,[4] and Greece and Italy with them; Albania,

[1] i.e. the forty-third year of the *saeculum novum* = A.D. 290. Adontz, 'Les vestiges d'un ancien culte en Arménie', *Mélanges Franz Cumont*, Bruxelles, 1936, p. 513, dates the conversion of Armenia at A.D. 288, but not convincingly. The writer of the above passage is a doubtful ally.

[2] i.e. A.D. 20; cf. the similar claim at ii. 48, p. 177. For a refutation of the antecedence of the Albanian Church, see Akinean, *Handēs Amsorea*, 1953, pp. 172–4, who calls the present passage 'a fine example of the policy and chronology of the author [MD]'. We have for the moment left the realm of history.

[3] This refers to the Council of Dwin which approved Zeno's Henotikon of 482 and which is usually dated as A.D. 506 (see Tēr-Minassiantz, *Die armenische Kirche*, Leipzig, 1904, pp. 152–7; Tournebize, *Histoire politique et religieuse de l'Arménie*, Paris, 1910, p. 321), although Akinean, ibid., prefers 508. MD's implied date of 470 (twelve years before the Henotikon) is nonsense.

[4] The implied date of 557 is impossible; 608/9 is the date usually accepted (see Grousset, op. cit., pp. 267–9).

however, did not abandon orthodoxy or communion with Armenia. Abraham, in an encyclical concerning Kiwrion's disobedience, denounced him to all peoples and cut him off with the sword of the spirit. He first informed Albania and wrote a letter to the following effect:[1]

'The see of Albania was established before that of Armenia and agrees with us.[2] We, with their support, have cursed and rejected Kiwrion in accordance with the command which the fathers gave to Rome and which shall be valid for ever. We and the Albanians have laid down the following ordinances concerning Georgia: Do not commune with them in any way whatsoever—in prayer, eating, drinking, friendship, or bringing up children; do not pray at the cross which is said to be at Mcxit'a (Mtskhetha) or the cross of Manglis;[3] do not receive them into our churches and do not intermarry with them, but only trade with them, as with the Jews. If any should indiscriminately commune with them, may he, being thereby an accomplice in their unbelief, be cursed in body and soul and cut off from the Church of God his whole life long. They who ignore this command shall be dwellers in darkness and fuel for the everlasting fire.'[4]

Chapter 48. *Concerning [the remonstrances made] by the Greeks to the Armenians for not having the nine grades in the hierarchy of the Church; the efforts of the Armenians to make the Albanians subordinate to them as an archbishopric, to which the Albanians do not agree; Siwnik' turns from the Armenians to the Albanians for consecration and chrism*

DURING the reign of the malevolent Marcian[5] over the Romans he, being misled by his wife, the filthy Pulcheria, a renegade Nestorian,[6] shattered and destroyed the articles of orthodox faith by

[1] Thus far this chapter is contained word for word in Uxtanēs [*Schism*], ch. lxix.

[2] See Abraham's encyclical in the *Girk' T'łt'oç*, Tiflis, 1901, pp. 188–95, in particular p. 193, l. 2 from bottom: 'before us (they were) established in the rank of catholicos in Albania (*yaŕajagoyn k'an zmez kaçealk'n yastičani kat'ułikosut'ean yAłuans*).'

[3] S, E *Mangleaç*; BM *Mangłenaç*.

[4] This is only a summary of Abraham's letter; cf. Uxtanēs, op. cit., ch. lxx, where, however, the letter breaks off after 'but only trade with them . . .' See *Girk' T'łt'oç*, pp. 194–5.

[5] 450–7.

[6] Pulcheria had played a leading role in the condemnation of Nestorius.

means of the Council of Chalcedon. Hereafter those who accepted it strove on many occasions to make Armenia conform with them by writing letters and convening several councils. They assembled once in Constantinople and twice in Theodosiopolis. They attempted to win them over as men in error, but although by command of the king they relied upon their most erudite Greek orators to prevail by their subtle tongues and Hellenic eloquence, they were answered in the same vein; for learning had been revived in the churches of Armenia and there were experts in the Greek tongue.

The Armenians noised it abroad that Yohann Mayrogomeçi was on the side of the Greeks in opposition to the Armenians. The originator of this calumny was a certain Sołomon, a monk who subsequently became catholicos of Armenia. He inquired of his vardapet Sołomon, a father in the monastery of Mak'enoç,[1] who wrote and taught as follows:

'The Armenians have not been defeated in matters of faith, but they have been worsted in the following particular: the Greeks have said that "God established the Church with nine grades, the ranks of this nether abode being graded as among the heavenly ones above: the patriarch, who is the chief priest, the archbishop, as the chief bishop is called, the metropolitans, bishops, priests, deacons, subdeacons, readers, and psalmists. All these acting together can consecrate the patriarch, and the patriarch can consecrate all of them. Now, if you are of the true faith, state who your patriarch is, for only four were established on earth: the throne of Mark at Alexandria, of Matthew at Antioch, of Luke at Rome, and of John at Ephesus; this is in accordance with the four corners of the universe, the four streams of the river of Eden, the four classes of animals, the four evangelists, the four books of Moses (for Deuteronomy is considered apart). We submit to all, therefore submit you also to one of them or to all of them in order that we may be united in faith. For your St. Gregory was consecrated archbishop in Caesarea, and likewise those after him down to the present time; if, however, you are some other separate church, point to that patriarch to whom your archbishop, who was

[1] Cf. reference to 'the letter of the holy Salōmōn, prior of Mak'enoç, which is included in the History of the Ałuank', in the middle part' in St. Orb. xxv, ed. Tiflis, pp. 99–100, tr. Brosset, p. 63; St. Orb. draws upon this, together with the writings of Uxtanēs and St. Maštoç, for his ch. xxvi. See Akinean, *Koriwn*, Vienna, 1910, p. 249.

hitherto subject to us, is now subject. If you have neither patriarch nor a complete clergy, it is evident that you are renounced heretics like Arius and other barbarian[1] and heterodox peoples." Having no reply to this, the Armenians were defeated, for the Church was in fact governed thus.

'During his reign Justinian transferred the relics of St. John Evangelist to Constantinople and established a patriarchal throne there; the real throne, however, remained Ephesus. In the same way he transferred the throne of Matthew from Antioch to Jerusalem, claiming that "it was the town of the great King"; but the real throne remained Antioch. Thereafter the arrogant grew very active, and any place where an apostle had died was recognized as a patriarchal see. Once this rule had been established, our own patriarchate was proclaimed.

'The Persians and the Greeks had divided Armenia and Lord Movsēs[2] was on the throne of St. Gregory at Dwin, while a certain Yohan was set up close by on the Greek side in opposition. During this schism of the patriarchate, however, the people of Siwnik' scorned it and submitted to neither side following the command of their bishop, the virtuous Petros, who, when he died, instructed his diocese to accept consecration and the holy chrism from the Albanians until such time as the see of St. Gregory should be reunited. Vrt'anēs was accordingly consecrated bishop by Zak'aria, the holy patriarch of Albania, and Siwnik' received the oil from the Albanians year after year until the opposition came to an end and Abraham ruled alone over the patriarchal see.[3]

'As for that which concerns the nine grades, the prelates of the Church, presumptuously and in accordance with the rude ways of the Armenians, ranked Abraham as patriarch, the head of the Albanian Church as archbishop, and the head of the Georgian Church as metropolitan. The head of the Georgian Church, Kiwrion by name, rebelled and declared his opposition, but the patriarch Abraham stated that the Albanians had preceded the Georgians in the faith and that the rank of archbishop fell to them. As a result of this dispute the Georgians turned from the orthodox faith and became Chalcedonians. The Greek generals at first encouraged

[1] *xužastan-s*, pl. of *xuž* in *-stan*, not to be confused here with Xužastan 'Susiana' (*HAG*, p. 45).

[2] II, *c.* 574–604; N. Akinean, '[Bishop Petros Siwneçi]', *Handēs Amsorea*, 1904, pp. 20–21, suggests that Yovhannēs II is meant; see Brosset, *Histoire de la Siounie*, i, p. 56, n. 2.

[3] Cf. St. Orb. xxii, tr. Brosset, p. 54.

them to seek precedence over the Albanians, but the latter would not yield and pointed to a certain apostle who came in ancient times to Albania, Ełiša by name, one of the disciples of the Lord who was consecrated by James, brother of the Lord, and who preached there and built a church before there was one in Armenia, namely, the church of Gis, the first mother church of the east.[1] Putting their trust in him, the Albanians turned from the Armenians in order to be subject to no one's authority. Then the Armenians, on account of the arrogance of the Greeks who would belittle the resting-place of the apostle Thaddaeus for having no archbishop or metropolitan, decided to make the bishop of the Mardpet a metropolitan, but gave him only the cross and the title with no power to consecrate bishops. He asked to be given two or three bishops, but the heads of the Church would not comply with this request, fearing that some other schism might develop in the now united see. Then, observing the lords of Siwnik' to be god-fearing and obedient to their commands and the clergy of their churches to be learned and orthodox in all respects, they gave them the rank of metropolitan of Armenia with authority to bear the crosier; they were not to assume more than this, however, and were not to proclaim their chief priest an archbishop. For the rest they permitted the land to retain its previous customs in order that no confusion might arise, and accordingly the Siwnians do not call themselves an archbishopric and do not sign themselves as such in answer to letters from Armenia; if it had been proclaimed such, it would be written such, and since it has not been proclaimed, it is not written. The bearing of the cross before the metropolitan is to the glory of the Lord, and the privilege of a simple cross and herald is the customary emblem of one not inferior to him. Thus the nine grades were established; and the clergy[2] in Siwnik' would

[1] These details Uxtanēs [*Schism*], ch. lxv, p. 122, says he has taken from the History of the Ałuank' (*i patmut'enē iwreanç* [sc. *Ałuaniç*]) or 'the historians of the Albanians' ([*i*] *patmagraçn Ałuaniç*). If he is referring to MD (and note that his ch. lxix agrees word for word with part of MD ii. 47, p. 174), then it must rather be to i. 6 than the present chapter. The 'other history' (*ayl patmut'iwn*) mentioned as the source of his ch. lxiv, though concerning Albania's chronological precedence as Christians over the Armenians, does not seem to refer to MD; see I. A. Dzhavakhov, 'Istoriya tserkovnago razryva mezhdu Gruziei i Armeniei v nachale VII veka', *Izvestiya Imperatorskoi Akademii Nauk*, St. Petersburg, 1908, p. 436.

[2] *tērunik'*; *NBHL* suggests the meaning *uxt ekeleçwoy* 'clergy' for this passage, but interprets the phrase as 'the clergy in Siwnik' wrote "Spiritual Lord" [to the primates of Siwnik']'.

write "Spiritual Lord" and they [the Armenian catholicoi?]. "From [your] servant". Then, [owing] to the crude behaviour[1] of Lord Ełia in Ericoy Vank' when he went to Albania,[2] [the Armenians] ceased to write "From [your] servant" and they [the Siwnians] suppressed the [epithet] "Spiritual".[3]

'That is the truth of the matter.'

Chapter 49. *The reply given by the Armenians to the letter of Mxit'ar, bishop of Amaras, concerning some blasphemies contained in his writings*

'To you, greatly honoured and revered [Albanian fathers], who voluntarily refer to the weakness in your propositions and reject what is unseemly and who, I must say, are like and equal in zeal to the Athenian fathers, [being] the new disciples and historians of the modern age in the north who listen to all things with discrimination, above all that which concerns the cultivation of consistency in thought, to you, Lord Mxit'ar, bishop of Amaras, Simēon, bishop of Mec Irank', and other likeminded bishops of the holy church, and to the nobles and others of the Albanian people, we, Abraham, catholicos of Armenia, T'ēodoros, bishop of the Mardpet, Step'annos, bishop of Bagrewand, Dawit', bishop of Siwnik', Movsēs, bishop of the Xoṙxoṙunik', K'ristap'or, bishop of the Apahunik', and other bishops and clergy and nobles, send you our sincere and spiritual greeting in the Lord with eager prayers and great supplications.

'In writing to us, you told us of your holy worship and of your desire to know whether persons with no wish to oppose had

[1] *xaĸagorcut'ean*; usually 'revolt, sedition', in which sense Brosset has taken it in his translation of the parallel passage of St. Orb. (below, n. 3).

[2] Ełia Arčišeçi, catholicos of Armenia 703–17; see below, iii. 3–10, on his journey to Albania to depose Nersēs Bakur with the support of the caliph; what role Ericoy Vank' played is unknown.

[3] Cf. the parallel passage in St. Orb. xxv, p. 105: 'and in writing letters the Siwnik' do not write [to] the Catholicos [as] "Chief bishop" (*episkoposapet*) or by another name; but the clergy (*tērunik'*) in Siwnik' (*i Siwnik'* for MD *i Siwnis*) wrote "Honoured by God" (*Astuacapatiw*) and "Spiritual Lord" (*hogewor Tēr*), and they (*nok'a*) "From [your] servant"; but [because] of the crude behaviour of Ełia Catholicos in Eriçu Vank' while he was going to bring Albania to submission, these (*sok'a*) did not write "From [your] servant" and they (*nok'a*) the [epithet] "Spiritual".' In the words of Brosset, *Histoire de la Siounie*, i, p. 67, n. 5, 'les formules ici énumérées n'offrent pas un sens très clair'.

perhaps created an opposition; [notice of this] we received from a Siwnian naxarar named Grigor, for he said "concerning your servant, [he has] renounced the Poet."[1] We were aware of your striving for piety, however, and your desire to share the perfect confession of our blessed forefathers, and although we received various reports from him[2] we were nevertheless restrained and guided by lenience in these matters on account of the sincere friendship which existed between our ancestors and yours. We wish to consider the short confession of faith which you have written and to compare it with the teaching of the Holy Ghost [in order to see where] it deviates from or corresponds to the truth after informing ourselves of many matters. Give me your opinion concerning that which you consider to be wrong and do not range yourselves in opposition, for such is not the custom of the Church of God. Your letter acquainted us, after some faint praise, with an accusation concerning a man designated as "weaker"[3] and the folly and absurdity of our believing in him, and maintaining that "we are no less than you, but fully equal to you in the faith, for the apostles and teachers preached the gospel equally and uniformly [to us both]". A few lines further on, your doctrine concerning the nature of the Holy Trinity prior to the everlasting creation is propounded differently from our own. Much further on, you have represented the Incarnation in a manner which deviates from the teaching of the Church of Christ as received from the apostles and in a way which the scriptures do not support; [they are the views] of wolves who steal men from it [the Church of Christ] and by saying perverse things draw their pupils after them. As for the other opinions which do not comply with our own and seem made to deceive the simple-minded, the door of falsehood is closed to us believers.

'This being so, reverend fathers, consider your confession of

[1] Obscure, Patkanean declining to translate. E has an intelligible reading: *k'anzi ew zarbanakēn jer asaç i kertołēn hražareal*; BM . . . *jeroy asaçi kertłoy* . . .; P4 . . . *jeroy asaçi Kertołoy* . . .; P5 . . . *zarbenekēn jeroy asaçi Kertłoy* . . .; P1 . . . *zbarekamin jeroy asaçi Kertłoy* . . .; S . . . *zbarekamin jeroy asaçi Kir Tłoy*. . . . The parallel passage in the *Girk' T'łt'oç* (see below, n. 2) has *k'anzi ew zarbanekēn asaç i kēr udwoy hražari*. The *kertoł* 'poet' referred to must be Vrt'anēs K'ertoł, *locum tenens* of the Armenian see 604–7, named in the title of the letter reproduced in the *Girk' T'łt'oç*.

[2] Down to here this letter in MD agrees, with many variant readings however, with that in the *Girk' T'łt'oç*, ed. Tiflis, 1901, pp. 196–7, l. 3; hereafter they diverge.

[3] Or 'very weak': *tkaragoyn*.

faith and where it leads you, and how it estranges you from the teaching of the Holy Ghost. Examine matters profoundly, distinguish the light from the darkness, and give explicit, comprehensive and clear answers. You who are desirous of good, lift your sharp eyes with me towards the abode of the Trinity, as Paul teaches the Romans to do: "For the Lord Jesus Christ and the love of the Holy Spirit to strive together with me in prayers to God" [Rom. xv. 30]. Thus did he preach the glory of the Holy Trinity and teach that all the apostolic testimonies are full of these words, in the name of which [apostles] we received the command to baptize and achieve glory in one single form of worship. Now wherefore do we cause division in the Church of God which the Son of God gathered together in one fold? Let us not become as Nadab and Abihu and worship strange fire like unbelievers, that we may not become consumed by fire. Let us not offend Christ, who would suffer for us again, by changing the faith, that we may not receive the curse which Noah pronounced upon Canaan from Him who separates the sheep from the goats. For this matter concerns us and you also, Mxit'ar, who are the appointed head of the Church of Amaras which you claim to have been founded by Gregory and to have the same faith as he and his descendants as intercessor with Christ God. Since we are his joint heirs, let it not be rumoured that you are becoming slaves to the sins of Canaan and not to the confessor of Judah. Let no command be given to divide the Church in two and to assign a part thereof to deceivers. If we be the sons of those fathers whose faith does not differ from that of the apostles, let us hold fast to their teachings, and let us not counterfeit unadulterated milk by mixing water with lime, for He of whose name we are so proud will be the very one to accuse us before the heavenly Father. Let us not be deluded by a multitude of grievances, but let us, in accordance with the parable, not be of one mind with the many in things which are evil, but endeavour to be with the eight people who were protected among the multitude who brought down upon themselves the scourge of God, to be liberated with Lot from the fiery rain, and to enter into the promised land with the two out of the six thousand who fell dead on the spot. For a friendly voice echoes over the mountains and says: "Do not fear, little flock, for your Father is pleased to give you the kingdom." We shall encourage the obdurate to act in this way, but we keep and shall keep the form of worship of the Holy Trinity as

we received it forever faithfully, and we shall shun every brother who rebels in this matter.'

Chapter 50. *Concerning Yovsep' the hermit who came and dwelt in Arçax; his journey to Jerusalem and his bringing hither the relics of the saints*

DURING the reign of Heraclius and the shattered reign of Yazkert, when Ezr was catholicos of Armenia and Mušeł *sparapet*, Grigor lord of Siwnik', Mat'usała bishop, and Varaz-Grigor lord of Gardman,[1] I, Yovsep', a hermit, left the desert and caves of Brut[2] in the canton of Gełam owing to the grievous troubles of the time, for lawless men became enraged and trampled the churches underfoot, exacted tribute from the oppressed, and laid waste the land in their wanton path. Above all, the bloodthirsty race of Tačiks began to wage war and turned all countries into mere earth to be trodden underfoot. Fleeing from such disasters, I came to the old bishop Mihr in this village of Yłerkk' in the province of Arçax. He received me, unworthy one, asked the villagers for this site, and built this church, where I dwelt for twelve years. Then God called him to his fathers and Andrēas succeeded to his diocese and held authority for eleven years. I submitted to him as my lord, and he fully confirmed me in my offices. There were, however, no relics of saints in this place, and a certain hermit called Mxit'ar from Tanjik', desiring to behold the holy city of Jerusalem, journeyed thither with two companions and worshipped before all the holy things. When he had been there a year, Christ granted him some relics of St. Stephen and St. George through a pious Roman citizen who had preserved them for his kinsfolk and who because of threats gave the holy things to Mxit'ar, saying: 'Take them to our country and put them in a place worthy of them.' And he eagerly accepted the treasure and travelled via Roman [Byzantine] territory for fear of enemies. He arrived at Mount Taurus at the site of the martyrdom of St. Andrew who was martyred along with many companions by King Seleucus. There he made a great

[1] Heraclius, 610–41; Yazkert III, 632–51; Ezr I, 630–41; Grigor, d. *c.* 640 (Brosset, *Histoire de la Siounie*, ii, p. 21); Mat'usala, d. *c.* 643 (Brosset, ibid. i, p. 80, n. 3); Varaz-Grigor, fl. *c.* 628 (above, ii. 17, p. 109, n. 2); perhaps Mušeł (653) is a mistake for Mžēž (Gnuni), governor of Byzantine Armenia *c.* 630–5.

[2] *brti ayreac'*; *brut* means 'potter', but *burt*, *birt*, *brit* are all possible nominatives of the gen. *brti*. The locality seems otherwise unknown.

request and begged part of the relics of Andrew from the guardian Thomas, who was persuaded by his entreaties to grant him his request. Having received the valuable treasure, he came to the region of Arçax.

I, Yovsep', hearing this news, went to meet them in a manner befitting the saints, and laid them that day to rest. The next day I asked Mxit'ar whither he wished to take the saints, and he replied: 'They dwell where God wills.' I, in my zealous love of the saints, said to him: 'I know that I am unworthy to guard them, but with you, Mxit'ar, I shall be confident to guard them all the days of my life.' Thus assured, he laid the saints to rest in the martyry which P'ok'rik ('Small') the carpenter had constructed with the aid of his son Yohan and Baxdanēr the smith, and for three years we performed commemorative services for them in accordance with the canons.[1]

After this, the desire grew in my heart to acquire some of the relics of St. John who was great among those born of woman, as attested by the Saviour. I made my preparations and went in search of them with K'ristosatur, Grigor and Sargis at the command of Karapet, with provisions prepared by Andrē the priest and with the consent of my friends, the monks Yovhan and Mxit'ar. I set out and arrived at the holy city of Jerusalem,[2] and worshipping there, I returned in great sorrow, for all were tainted by their adherence to the world-destroying Council of Chalcedon. Paying respect to none of them, I returned to my village of Puhavank' in Gełark'uni where I had known from my childhood a piece of the relics of John to be. With much supplication I begged Grigorik, the guardian of the relics, for a piece. By the mercy of God I succeeded in persuading him, and he opened a chest in which we found the Holy Baptist, the apostle Thomas, and the protomartyr Stephen whom our forefathers had brought thither from the orthodox inhabitants of the holy city of Jerusalem. I, Yovsep', took them to the same martyry, and everyone came to meet us rejoicing greatly. Thus we laid them to rest in this place and established commemorative services for them in accordance with the teaching of Cyril of Jerusalem, who prescribed readings for the glory of Christ our God. After this, all the saints in the canton of

[1] P4, D2, BM, E *əst kanonaç*; P1, 5, D1, 3, S *zkananç* 'for their wives'.

[2] E. W. Brooks, 'An Armenian Visitor to Jerusalem in the Seventh Century', *English Historical Review*, 1896, p. 95, dates Yovsep''s visit at *c.* A.D. 660.

Gełam were well pleased; each was marked with his name in writing and placed in the same church. And by their intercession may the Lord God have mercy on the world.

Chapter 51. *Concerning the churches built in Jerusalem, their number and position. You will find the truth here*[1]

THE distance from the hollow rock grave of our Saviour Christ from the centre of the dome of the Holy Sepulchre is 1½ fathoms. On top of the church, mounted on pillars, is a dome 100 cubits tall and 100 wide, and on both sides there are twelve columns below and twelve in the upper story.[2] In the upper story are the spear, the sponge, and the cup of Christ, plated in gold. The principal (*kat'olikē*) church, which is called the martyry, which is that of the Invention of the Cross, is 20 cubits distant from the church of the Resurrection and has sixty-five columns along its length, above and below.

The holy church of Golgotha is ten paces away from the church of the Resurrection and is called Adam's Tomb. Above this there is an altar where Christ was crucified on the rock.

The holy church of Sion is one furlong distant from the church of the Resurrection, 100 cubits long and 70 wide, with cloisters comprising eighty columns; there is no upper story, only a wooden trellis-work,[3] and the crown of thorns which they placed upon the Saviour's head hangs on this. On the right of the church there is the upper story of the sacrament and a wooden cupola upon which is painted the Last Supper of our Saviour and in which there is an altar; Mass is celebrated in the upper story of the church of Sion, and there is one upper story (?).[4]

[1] For translations of this chapter, based on Patkanean's translation, and commentaries, see E. W. Brooks, op. cit., pp. 93–97; R. N. Bain, 'An Armenian Description of the Holy Places in the Seventh Century', *Palestine Exploration Fund, Quarterly Statement*, London, 1896, pp. 346–9; Vasilevski, *Soobshcheniya Imp. Pravosl. Palest. Obshchestva*, t. iv (1886), pp. 120–3.

[2] *vernatun* 'hyperōon, coenaculum' (*NBHL*), 'gallery, clerestory' (Brooks, loc. cit.).

[3] *t'arb* (not in *NBHL*); Šahnazarean, *Patmut'iwn Ałuaniç* n. 221 to vol. i, says the word was still used in Armenia in the meaning of *vandakajew hiwsuac* ['reticular tissue', i.e. 'netting', 'network']. The *Arǰeṙn baṙaran* and Ačaṙean, *Nor baṙer*, i, p. 14, indicate a special net for catching fish.

[4] P4, 5, BM, S *vernatun mi lini*; E *vernatun mi šini* 'an upper story is being built'; P1 *vernatun mijin* 'middle story'.

To the right of the church of Holy Sion stands the house of Pilate, called Gabbatha (*Kappat'a*), with the stone upon which our Saviour stood and upon which his footmarks are visible to this day. Beneath it is the pool in which he washed his disciples' feet. To the left of the church of Sion stands the prison in which Christ was imprisoned; there is an altar there upon which Mass is offered.

In the place outside the town to which the Jews carried the coffin of the Holy Virgin, not permitting her to be buried, there is a dome mounted on four pillars, and the pillars are adorned with a bronze cross and made of marble. From top to bottom there are 250 stone steps down to the holy tomb of the Virgin, which is in the valley of Gethsemane. From there to the Mount of Olives, where Christ rose, there are 800 steps.

In the place of the Ascension there is a beautiful building with a dome in the shape of the church of the Resurrection, 100 cubits long and 100 cubits wide. From there one can see the river Jordan and Mount Hor and many provinces.

Bethlehem is 220 parasangs to the west of the church of the Resurrection. The church is 200 cubits in length and 100 in breadth, with ninety marble columns and stone arcades, and in it is the double cave which Abraham bought as a tomb. Below the sanctuary are the holy grotto and the crib, where there is an altar upon which Mass is celebrated. On the right of the church there is a chapel where the relics of the children murdered by Herod are kept.

Eastwards from there, on the banks of the Jordan 3 furlongs from Bethlehem, there is a plain where there are two churches in which mass is celebrated.

Seven parasangs from Jerusalem towards the east, in the place where the Saviour was baptized, there is a church built in the form of a cross with pointed roofs (*sagašēn*), 80 cubits long, 80 wide, with three altars on which Mass is celebrated.

The Mount of Olives is to the east of Jerusalem.

Chapter 52. *Concerning those monasteries built in the name of the Albanians in Jerusalem, according to that which we learned from [the letter of] the blessed Anastasius to Vahram Mamikonean*

THE monastery of Pand (*Panday vank'*), situated on the east side

of the Mount of Olives, built first by a monk named Panon from Albania and held at the present time by an Albanian priest.

The monastery of Mruv,[1] dedicated to the Forty Martyrs, close by in the same region and now held by the Arab.

The monastery of Partaw, 'The Holy Mother of God', near the Tower of David; half is held by a woman named Mariam from Šamk'or, and half by the Arab.

The monastery of Kałankaytuk' in the same region; at present half is held by a Christian named T'ēodoros, an Arab, son of Abraham, scribe of Abul Kami, from Aliovit, from [the town of] Zarišat, and half by the wicked and evil Arab.

The monastery of Arçax, 'The Mother of God', situated to the south[2] of St. Stephen's, now wholly held by the Arab.

The monastery of Amaras, 'St. Gregory', half of which is held by a woman called Grigorik,[3] and half by the Arab.

The names of three other Albanian monasteries seized by the Arab are not known. There is another monastery with the monasteries of the Aṙaweank' in the middle of the sūq now held by the Arab.

It was owing to envy that the patriarchs of Jerusalem forbade the consecration of Armenians and Albanians by the monasteries, for there were more than a hundred of them. For these the Armenian princes gave 7 talents (*kendinar*), that is, 70,000 *dahekan*, to King Justinian and thus wrested the monasteries from the tyranny of the patriarchs. Afterwards, however, through our lack of care, they all fell to ruins.

[1] P4, BM *Mrwoy Vank'*; E *Mruvoy vank'*; P1, 5, D3, S, Patk. om.

[2] P4, BM *s[ur]b a[stua]cacinn i harawoy Srboyn Step'anosi*; P5, S . . . *Astuacacnay herac ew* . . . D3, Patk. . . . *hraç*. . . .; P 1 . . . *harç*. . . .

[3] E, Patk.; P1, 4, 5, D2, 3, BM, S *Grigori*.

BOOK THREE

Chapter 1. *The first invasion of the Ishmaelites from the land of the south with intent to seize the ends of the earth*[1]

THAT which we received from our blessed teachers concerning the shape of things to come we shall set forth here, recalling the patriarch's prophecy concerning Ishmael, namely: 'his hand against all men' [Gen. xvii. 12] and 'he shall be a great nation' [Gen. xvii. 20].

With the decline of the Sassanian kingdom of Persia there appeared among the false prophets of whom we heard from the Saviour a man called Mahmet, a diabolical and ferocious archer who dwelt in the desert. One day, Satan, assuming the shape of a wild deer, led him to meet a certain false Arian hermit by the name of Bahira and then vanished. When the well-bent bow of Mahmet was aimed straight at him, the man cried out loudly, and said: 'Do not sin, my son, for I am a man like yourself!' And Mahmet said to him: 'If you are a man, why are you in that cave?' And calling him to him, Bahira began to teach him from the Old and New Testaments after the manner of Arius who held that the Son of God was a created thing and commanded him to tell the barbarous Tačiks what he had learned from him, his foul teacher, insisting that none should know his whereabouts. The foolish, heathen, self-indulgent race, amazed at such fine talk, asked Mahmet: 'Where did you learn this?' Deceiving his ignorant people, Mahmet replied: 'An angel spoke to me as to one of the first prophets who spoke of God.' They secretly commissioned spies to discover who had really told him these things, however, and how he knew so much, but Mahmet learned of these deceivers and secretly killed his wicked teacher and buried him in the sand; sitting on this very place, he told the spies: 'It was here that the angel appeared to me and told me of these great wonders.' Observing him to be alone, they returned and related everything to the gullible and erring Tačik tribe, who summoned a great assembly,

[1] No attempt will be made to comment upon the Armenian misconceptions of Islam contained in the first chapter, or the largely faulty chronological data concerning the caliphs in the second chapter.

went into the arid, demon-haunted desert, and welcomed the diabolically inspired Mahmet with great honour into their midst. And thus were the words of the Saviour concerning the acceptance of a false prophet then and there fulfilled, for the idolatrous Mahmet began to prophesy. 'If you heed my prophecies and accept my teaching', he said, 'our nation shall gain great power; in the words of the Epistle to the Romans, our power has been given us by God on account of our faith.' The sites of their fire-temples and altars he named the Dome of Abraham and the place where God had walked, and commanded them to worship there. He named his army the army of Abraham and commanded them to pray to a square altar, and he had a stone column erected to be kissed in the name of Abraham.

Concerning him the prophet had prophesied: 'If a man put away his wife and she go from him and become another man's, and then return to her husband, shall not the woman be polluted by her pollution?' [Jer. iii. 1]. This Mahmet did. A certain Tačik named Talb[1] had a pretty wife, and on her account Mahmet sent him a message, saying: 'God commands you to put away your wife.' Talb brought his wife to the market-place, and swearing before witnesses, put away and repudiated his wife. Mahmet took the wife himself and satisfied the desires of his lecherous passion, and afterwards returned her to Talb, saying: 'God has commanded you to take her back again.' This law of *talak* (*ṭalāq*) was introduced into their tribe to the effect that if a man repudiates his wife and she goes and lies with another, he may take her back again; and so evil is their legislation, that they swear by the terrible name of God and break their word, but swear by the private parts of women and keep it. And he handed down many another foul thing to his nation who are the precursors and armies of the Antichrist and shall be his worshippers and his allies. Concerning them the blessed Paul has said: 'men corrupt in mind, worthless concerning the faith, whose folly shall be manifest on the Day of Judgment of God' [2 Tim. iii. 8, 9]; and elsewhere: 'weeping I tell you of the enemies of the cross of Christ whose end is destruction' [Phil. iii. 18, 19].

In the 65th year of the Armenian era [616/17] the false prophet Mahmet appeared in the city of Medina, and in the 70th year [621/22] he went to the Dome of Abraham and thence in the month of Safar

[1] i.e. Ṭālib, but the husband of Zaynab bint Ḏjaḥsh was Zayd b. Ḥāritha.

to that city called in his name Mahmetay. He remained there for one year, during which he made raids from the city. Beginning in the month of Rabī' al-'Awwal he delivered the Dome of Abraham, and on the 19th of Ramaḍān it was the eighth year of his rule. On the 15th of Shawwāl he fought the Persian Rep'.[1] In the month of Dhu'l-Qa'da at the junction of day and night he arrived at Meccah, and he returned thence to his capital where he remained for six days in the month of al-Qa'da[2] of the same year. He left Sēd[3] son of Abu Sēd in Meccah. His companions returned to Meccah. Abu Bak'r son of Abu Kuhabay[4] was the chief of his disciples. And it was the ninth year of Mahmet's reign. In the tenth year he died, on Monday the second day of the month Rabī' al-'Awwal, after a reign of ten years. For thirteen years he preached and secretly strengthened his erroneous faith. He was forty years old when he appeared, and he died at the age of sixty-three.

Chapter 2. *After the false prophet Mahmet the following become caliph*[5]

THE second ruler of the Tačiks after Mahmet was Abu Bek'r son of Abu Kuhaba who ruled for nine years.

Umaṙ ibn Xatab, seven years; he was assassinated.

Ut'man ibn Ap'an, eleven years. Then they destroyed Ut'man's power, and Ut'man gave authority to Abdlay and the privilege of dyeing his hair and beard with saffron.

Mawiay, nine years.

Ezid ibn Mawiay, eight years.

Abdlmalik' ibn Mruan, eleven years. In his days lived Haǰiǰ ibn Usup'.

Vlit' son of Abdlmalik', nine years.

Sulēman ibn Abdlmalik', fourteen years.

Umaṙ son of Abdlaziz, ten years.

Ezid ibn Abdlmalik', six years.

Hešm ibn Abdlmalik', twenty years.

[1] P4, BM, Q; V1, 2 *Rerp'*; P1, 5, S, E *Nep'*.
[2] S has Dhu'l-Ḥiǰǰa.
[3] P1, 5, S, E; P4, BM, Q *Zad*; V1, 2 *Zat*.
[4] Abū Bakr, son of Abū Quḥāfa.
[5] D1 *amirmomninik'*; 5, D3 *amirmomnik'*; D2, S *amirmumnik'*; BM *amir momni*; E *amirmumink'*; P4 *amer momne*; P1 *amir movnonik*; i.e. amīr al-mu'minīn. With the errors in this chapter one might compare those in Asołik, ii. 4, 5.

Vlit' ibn Ezid, one year. He was killed and there was confusion among the Tačiks.

Mruan son of Mahmet, four years. He killed the chiefs of the *Kurišik*-s (Koraysh), sixty men, the murderers of the amir Vlit', pointing out the murderers.

And Abl Abas came from Media with the help of the armies of Abu Mslim, prince of Xorasan, and killed Mruan; and he reigned seven years. And Abl Abas Abdlay son of Mahmet son of Ali son of Abdlay son of Abas son of Abdl Mutałibay, whose tribe is now called the *Hēšmik*-s, secretly killed Abu Sałim when he came to power. And after this murder, he himself died.

Abu J̌ap'r called Abdlay, his brother, ruled for twenty-two years; he died in the Dome of Abraham.

Madi called Mahmet, son of Abdlay, nine years.

Musē, one year.

Harun son of Madi, called Madiun, twenty-five years. He brought excessive oppressions upon the land, and on this account many cantons of Armenia went over to the Greeks.

Mahmet son of Harun, three years. While he still lived, Harun divided the kingdom between his two sons Mahmet and Maymun. Mahmet, being the elder, was to have power over Baghdad and Xorasan, but Maymun waged war against him, and Mahmet died, and Abdlay, called also Maymun, ruled over all.

Ibrayim, ten years.

Harun the Second was established on the throne by Mahmet Amir Mumin, and it was the 280th year of the Armenian era.[1]

Chapter 3. *Concerning a certain Nersēs Bakur who became catholicos of Albania*

UPON the death of Ełiazar, catholicos of Albania,[2] a certain Bakur called Nersēs who belonged to the duophysite sect of Chalcedon and was formerly bishop of Gardman conspired with Spram,[3]

[1] BM 280 (831/2); S 270 (821/2); E 260 (811/2). Harun II (al-Wāsik) succeeded in January 842 (290 A).
[2] In 688; see Dowsett, *BSOAS* xxi (1958), p. 478, nn. 3, 4, and above, ii. 32, p. 137, n. 5. His term of office is given by Mxit'ar Goš, Kirakos, and MD (iii. 23, p. 229) as six years, but seven (681–8) would appear more accurate.
[3] P1, 4, BM, S *Spramay*; P5, D3 *əspramay*; E *Sparam*; D1 *zBramay*. See *HAG*, 75; the word does not mean 'basil' (as Hübschmann), but merely 'flower'; see W. B. Henning, *Ein manichäisches Bet- und Beichtbuch*, Berlin, 1937, p. 72.

queen of Albania and wife of Varaz-Trdat, who followed the same heresy, and signed an agreement with her to further his ambition: 'If you will proclaim me catholicos of Albania,' he said, 'I shall convert all Albania to Chalcedonism.' The heretical woman listened to him and conferred with the bishops and nobles of Albania, and since no one detected the ruse, all agreed unanimously to grant her request. The almighty Holy Ghost, however, inspired Yovēl, bishop of Mec Irank', and before the assembled synod he asked Nersēs to sign a statement anathematizing the Council of Chalcedon and the Tome of Leo and to seal it with his seal. The eastern synod accepted the letter in accordance with the canons, and he was proclaimed patriarch of the holy see of Albania by Yovēl and the other bishops.[1] Bishop Yovēl took the letter of anathema and put it in safe keeping. He lived for fourteen years after this, and then passed away in Christ.[2] Hereupon Nersēs perceived an opportunity to satisfy his desire, and he hastened to the canton of Mec Irank' to his accomplice Zak'aria, the abbot of a monastery, whom he promised to make a bishop if only he would return to him the signed document that he might burn it. Zak'aria gave him the letter containing his sacred oath, and he burned it on the spot and consecrated Zak'aria bishop of Mec Irank'. Having gained him as an intimate friend, he returned [to his old beliefs like a dog] to vomit, beliefs he had long conserved. Queen Spram encouraged him, and with her aid and that of other nobles who received his tares, he successfully destroyed and ruined many church altars. He persecuted and banished the orthodox and worthy heirs and children of the Church. First of all he persecuted the blessed Israyēl, the worker of miracles, bishop of Mec Kueank', who had converted many lands of the Khazars and Huns to Christianity, and also Ełiazar, bishop of Gardman. Many of the bishops rebelled against him, however, namely, Yovhannēs, bishop of Kapałak, Sahak, bishop of Amaras, Simēon, bishop of Hoš, and Šeroy, a great prince of Albania,[3] and his nobles; all these, together with the

[1] Nersēs occupied the patriarchal throne for 17½ years according to iii. 7, p. 192; for fifteen years according to Mxit'ar Goš (see Dowsett, *BSOAS* xxi (1958), p. 478, nn. 4 and 5). He was deposed in 706 (see iii. 8, p. 193, n. 1). Mxit'ar Goš, loc. cit., implies that he was elected in 137 A (7.6.688–6.6.689), which would indicate a term of office of fifteen or sixteen years. If we take his term of office to be 17½ years, the date of his election would have been 686 or 687, the six years given as the length of Ełiazar's patriarchate correct (see above, p. 137, n. 5), and Mxit'ar's date of 137 A incorrect.

[2] 701 or 702.

[3] At this time Varaz-Trdat was possibly detained in Constantinople (see below, iii. 12, p. 202); in 705 Šeroy is taken by the Arabs to Syria (below, iii. 16, p. 208, n. 1).

majority of the clergy, convened a synod and anathematized Nersēs along with all heretics.

Chapter 4. *The letter of the Albanian synod to Ełia, catholicos of Armenia*[1]

'HOMAGE to the Lord Ełia, catholicos of Armenia, from the united synod of Albania. Our fathers shared the one orthodox faith with your fathers for the salvation of their souls. Owing to the indulgence of the Lord God the world-destroying heresy of Chalcedon has waxed strong and has spread through the universe, but till now our countries have remained unadulterated by this heresy. Now, however, Nersēs, whom we took to be a good shepherd, has turned wolf and has begun to tear asunder the rational flock of Christ. We have accordingly decided to advise Your Holiness that you might visit us as you visit your own members and heal our injuries. Greetings in the Lord.'

Chapter 5. *The letter of Ełia, catholicos of Armenia, to Abdlmēlik' Amir Mumin to the same effect*

'TO the conqueror of the universe, Abdlay Amir Mumin,[2] from Ełia, patriarch of Armenia. By the power of Almighty God we hold our vassal country subject to your suzerainty. We and the Albanians worship the divinity of Christ. He who is now catholicos of Albania and has his throne in Partaw has come to an agreement with the emperor of Greece, mentions him in his prayers and forces the land to adopt his faith and unite with him. Let this now be known to you, and do not hesitate to act in this matter, for he is in league with a noblewoman. Order those who wished to sin against God to be punished upon your great authority as their deeds deserve.'

[1] 703–17; cf. Tournebize, *Histoire*, p. 140; Grousset, op. cit., p. 312.

[2] 'Abdu 'l-Malik (685–705). Asołik, ii. 2, Kirakos, viii, followed by Čamčean, ii, 783, name this caliph as the one involved in the Nersēs Bakur affair; Vardan, xxxviii, and Yovhannēs Catholicos, xiii, wrongly name Omar (II, 717–20). The account of St. Orb., lii, tr. Brosset, p. 162, does not name the Caliph.

Chapter 6. *The reply of Abdlmēlikʿ Amir Mumin to the letter of Ełia, catholicos of Albania*

I HAVE read your friendly letter, Ełia, man of God, *ǰāthlīq* (ćatholicos) of the Armenian people,[1] and I have sent my faithful servant with a great army to you. Regarding the rebellion of the Albanians against our authority, we have commanded them to be corrected in accordance with your religion. Our servant shall execute our punishment at Partaw in your presence; he will throw Nersēs and the woman who is his accomplice into irons and will bring them to the royal court in ignominy that I may make them an example for all rebels to see.'

Chapter 7. *The arrival of Ełia, catholicos of Armenia, in Partaw and the punishment of Nersēs who in accordance with the wishes of the Albanian people is succeeded by the archdeacon Simēon*

THE great patriarch of Armenia Ełia set out and arrived in Partaw, the capital of Albania, sat in the great church and commanded Nersēs to be brought before him. The latter was in hiding, however, and could not be found, but the pious Šeroy, prince of Albania, seized his close associates and ordered them to fetch Nersēs, who was then placed in the centre of the crowded court in front of Ełia. Since he was unable to answer [the charges against him], they inflicted grievous wounds upon him in accordance with the royal command, after which he was bound foot to foot with the woman prior to being sent into exile. Because of these things, however, he would not eat for eight days, and he died. He had himself buried in the same chains and he cursed Šeroy for being the cause of his and Spram's misfortune on account of the dispute between him (Šeroy) and Spram concerning the question of authority. Nersēs occupied the patriarchal throne for fourteen years as an orthodox priest, and for three and a half years as a heretic resembling the Antichrist who prepares to come in the last days.

When these things had taken place in this way, Simēon, a virtuous and holy man, was elected by the same assembly and

[1] BM, V1, 2 *Armenean azgi ǰatʿlkid*; D2, 3, P3, 5, Ant. . . . *jatʿtkid*; P2 *ʿlid*; D1, P1 *geltdik*. Note the two Arabisms.

consecrated by the Albanians. He rid the land of the disorder caused by Nersēs and transmitted many orthodox rules to the misled Church. All the heresy-ridden writings of the wretched Nersēs he had placed in boxes and thrown into the river Trtu near his summer residence called Berdakor. He occupied the patriarchal throne for one and a half years.[1]

Chapter 8. *The signature which Ełia, catholicos of Armenia, exacted from the Albanian synod for the sake of unity and a firm alliance between the Armenians and the Albanians*

'SINCE our enemy Satan, who hates virtue and opposes the salvation of our fellow-men, ensnares with many and divers evils, as is his wont, the simple-minded among men and combats the children of the Church, and coveting the elect, contrives his devices in conformity with his inborn nature, in accordance with the text: "our adversary the devil roars like a lion, [seeking] whom he might devour" [1 Pet. v. 8]; since at the beginning of creation the same wickedness and perversion banished us from the tree of life and the sweet delights of paradise, for Satan has from the beginning sinned above all through the weak and unstable minds of senseless men led astray by the devil, who walk bemused in the paths of evil and for whom the light of the glory of Christ will not shine; since the tempter was deprived of those who through original sin and his perverse deception worshipped idols, he has now decided to achieve the same results by the agency of unwise men who disunite the Church of God by innovations and in an unholy fashion, dividing its possessions and members.[2] Accordingly there now appears among us the bitter evil root of the heresies of Nestorius and Maximus through [the fault of] the ungodly Nersēs who, owing to the indulgence of the Holy Ghost, was elected to the primacy of this house of Albania and by his cunning became the destroyer of the faith and the corrupter of our souls. With his unworthy hands he destroyed the redeeming tradition of our fathers who preached the message of the apostles and were confirmed in the Church by sinless hands; he dispersed the zealous bishop of orthodox faith and those who held to tradition. Some he insultingly exiled to foreign countries; others, filled with sorrow, he tormented. He ruined the

[1] 704–6.

[2] *zšahs ew zgluxs*, lit. 'possessions and heads'.

precious episcopal dioceses and brought confusion upon the dwellings of the hermit monks. Through him the valued members of the holy body of Christ were put asunder and the sons of Sion wholly led astray by his deceit. The temple of our holiness was corrupted, as [it is said] in the lamentation of Jeremiah: "the glory of our holiness has gone and in the four-cornered universe our pride is put out and destroyed" [?]. Let one now, however, bless and give thanks to God the Saviour, who has not permitted the enemy of mankind to succeed completely, but having mercy on our weakness and taking pity on our people has sent you to us, honoured father Ełia, by the grace of God catholicos of Armenia, a man holy and true, seated upon the throne of St. Gregory, together with your bishops and doctors Simēon, bishop of the Xoŕxoŕunik', Sargis, bishop of the Amatunik', Sargis, bishop of Ŕotak, and the doctor Yovhannēs. With many other of your followers you arrived in our capital Partaw and by your gentle teaching banished evil from our midst. Remembering the traditions of our forefathers, you gave new life to the throne of our patriarchate in the person of a godly man of whose integrity we ourselves are witnesses. By virtue thereof, all of us, namely Simēon, catholicos of Albania, Yovhannēs, bishop of Kapałak, Simēon, bishop of Hoš, Sahak, bishop of Amaras, the saintly K'šik, abbot of the monastery of Nersmihr, together with all those of our clergy who have been preserved from heresy; and the abbot of the monastery of Gut,[1] the abbot of the monastery of Katar, the abbot of the monastery of St. Joseph, Dawit', monk of Kałankaytuk', Petros, monk of Tgŕakert, Połos, monk of Ałacob, and the Christ-loving Šeroy, prince of Albania, J̌uank'oy, sparapet of Albania, the patricius Vardan and his brother Gagik, Bab i Hrahatean, Vaxtang i Varazmanean, Patrik i K'aroyean of the race of kings, Vahan i Varaz-Yohanean, T'ēodoros yAnastoyean, Ŕostom i Varazk'oyean, Zarmihr i Varaz-K'urdak'ean of the race of kings, Mahmat i Šeroyean,[2] and all the freemen (*azatk'*) of this country have blessed and unanimously accepted, both priests and laymen, our apostolic faith which was first established by St. Eliseus and later confirmed by St. Gregory, a faith which until now has never erred. When temptations came, God sent us His succour through you, the representative of St. Gregory, of whose

[1] *Gtay vank'*.

[2] V. Minorsky explains the form of these names as 'the Persian construction with the patronymic *iḍāfat*' ('Caucasica, IV', *BSOAS* xv (1953), p. 508, n. 6).

orthodox faith we are the disciples, as we shall be those of the Lord Ełia, catholicos of Armenia, who has taken revenge upon the enemy of righteousness.

'And now we shall curse all heretics, the first and the last and those between: Eunomius[1] and his master Arius, Valentinus, Apollinarius, Diodorus, Mani, Marcion, Eutyches, Nestorius, Theodoret, the Council of Chalcedon, and the Tome of Leo, and Maximus and his followers; along with these we have also cursed our wretched Nersēs who was won over by the duophysite heresy and those whom he in turn persuaded. We have all agreed upon the same articles of faith before God and Your Holiness, and from this time forth no one of us shall presume to stray outside the traditions of our fathers. If any such rash men should again arise who would again introduce among us some new doctrine, may they be cursed by the Holy Trinity and our united community, and may they not partake of the gifts of the Spirit or come to the promised land. If it should be one of the bishops, he shall be deposed from his office and shall fall from his elevated throne; if it be one of the priests, he shall suffer in like fashion; if it be one of the monks, he shall be anathematized and driven out; if it be a freeman, he shall be excommunicated and shall not mingle with the congregation until he return to orthodoxy.

'⟨Likewise concerning the consecration of our catholicos; originally they received it from Jerusalem down to [the time of] St. Gregory, and from then until now they have received it from our own bishops.⟩[2] But now, since this consecration has been performed in an inexperienced and undiscriminating manner, in such a way that our country became schismatic, we have resolved before God and Your Holiness that the consecration of the patriarchs of Albania shall be performed by the see of St. Gregory with the assent of this country, ⟨and the consecration of the see of Armenia shall be by the incumbent of the see of Albania, for the latter is older than that of you Armenians.⟩[3] Let no one presume to act

[1] BM, V1, 2 *z-ewnomios*; P4 *zew nonmios*; P2, 3, 5, Ant., S, E *z-nominos*; P1 *znmin*.

[2] So P4, BM, D633, D1721; P1, 2, 3, 5, E, S, D1682: 'We have also set down a statute concerning the consecration of the catholicos of Albania. For a brief period our catholicoi were accorded their rank by our own bishops.'

[3] So P4, BM, D633, D1721; P1, 2, 3, 5, E, S, D1682: 'as was the custom from St. Gregory onwards, for we were enlightened thence; we are confident that you will select them in a way pleasing to God and ourselves.'

contrary to the terms of this agreement; should any do so, it shall be null and void and the consecration ⟨of both⟩[1] shall be considered invalid. Whoever in fear of God complies with this canon shall be blessed by the Holy Trinity and by all the orthodox servants of God; and should any oppose this and err from the truth, he shall answer for it, whoever he might be, before God.

'This document was written by mutual agreement and with the intercession of God for the sake of the strength and stability of the faith between the two parties in the eighty-fifth year of the Tačiks and the 148th year of the Armenians in the month of Hrodiç, and was sealed in accordance with the wishes of those whose names are written above.'[2]

Chapter 9. *An account of the agreement by the Lord Ełia, catholicos of Armenia, addressed to the Albanians*

'THE heretical Nersēs in Albania sowed much confusion in matters of faith and tainted the minds of many men with the duophysite heresy of Chalcedon, thus endangering in his treacherous wickedness bishops, priests, and monks. Being informed of this, I, Ełia, catholicos of Armenia, came with my bishops to your most famous town of Partaw in Albania. Clergy and laymen assembled before me and showed me that letter which cursed Nersēs and deposed him from the catholicosate of Albania. Although he had been established on the episcopal throne, albeit by tyranny, the same bishops and the entire assembly of the Church cursed him in a sealed statement with the mediation of God and in agreement with us. They decreed: "we are firm in the faith and do not communicate with the false heresy of Chalcedon and the evil teaching of Bakur". If they conform to this agreement and the traditions of the holy fathers, accept them and love them as your spiritual overseers, but if any one, be he catholicos or bishop, infringe this decree, he shall

[1] So P4, BM, D633, D1721; P1, 2, 3, 5, E, S, D1682 om. See Datean, 'Niwt'er *Aluaniç Patmut'ean* usumnasirut'ean hamar', *Ararat*, 1897, pp. 68–69, and Introduction, p. xi.

[2] The synchronism is inexact. 85 H = 14.1.704–2.1.705, 148 A = 5.6.669–3.6.700; the latter date is wrong, for Ełia was not then catholicos of Armenia. If Hrotiç of the year 148 A is meant, it refers to the period 30.4–29.5.700, if Hrotiç of the year 85 H, i.e. 152 A, is meant, it refers to the period 29.4–28.5.704. May 704 is a possible date for the Council of Partaw, for it was not until some time in or after June 704 that Šeroy was taken to Syria (see below, iii. 16, p. 208).

have no authority over you. You must stand in your churches and constantly pray to God, and may you be ruled by Him and the orthodox teachers. I have given this letter, written to comfort you, to the godly K'šik, prior of the abbot of Ners-Mihr, and to Grigor, prior of the monastery of Joseph.

'I, Ełia, catholicos of Armenia, together with my bishops, have concluded a treaty of union with the Albanian people, and I have given you this account thereof that no one may presume to break the oaths which have been sworn. I have given the two letters, sealed with my seal, into the hands of the godly father K'šik to be kept in the monastery of Ners-Mihr.'

Chapter 10. *A list of the names of the naxarars of Albania in order of precedence which the virtuous Abdlmēlik' Amir Mumin took and placed among the royal archives*

WE have acknowledged as authentic this declaration of the Holy Spirit which we requested from the Council of Partaw in writing in order that we might distinguish between the truth and the deceitful words of duophysite heresies and the opponents of virtuous teachers. Firstly, I, Šeroy, prince of Albania, and J̌uank'oy, sparapet of Albania; then the patrician Vardan and his brother Gagik[1] and Vaxtang i Varazmanean (their ancestor was Vardan K'aǰ of the Mihrakan family who in the days of the Vaċagan, king of Albania, was appointed president of the Council of Ałuēn by him and settled in Gardman); Patrik i K'aroyean of the race of kings who settled in the canton of Azbēt'[2] at the command of the same King Vaċagan (his ancestors were the brave Vaċagan and Vaċē who are mentioned in their proper order in that book);[3] Bab i Hratean of the princes of Atrpatakan who settled in Kapałak and Kołt'; Vahan i Varaz-Yohanean, of the Madianaçik'[4] of Persia, a Jacobite by faith, who settled in Kambičan; Ṙostom i Varazk'oyean, who came from the province of Stahr in Persia and settled in the village of Kałan-

[1] Vardan and Gagik of the Mihrakan family were the sons of Varaz-Trdat (at the time of the Council of Partaw they are elsewhere (below, iii. 12, p. 203) implied to be held as hostages in Constantinople).

[2] BM; Q *Azbet'*; V1, P2, 5 *Azbed*; D3 *Azbēd*; P1 *Azbid*; D1, V2, P2B *Atbed*; P4 *Albet'*; P3, E. *Alberd*; S *Albid*.

[3] i.e. Book i. 10, p. 9.

[4] This form usually refers to the Midianites of antiquity; here it possibly stands for **Madaynaçik'*, inhabitants of Madā'in (Ctesiphon).

kaytuk' in the village of Uti; Zarmihr i Varaz-K'urdak'ean and Mahmat i Šeroyean, sons of the lords of Dailam,[1] who left Dailam to settle in lands granted them in Albania by the king.

All these names were written in the archives of Abdlmēlik' Amir Mumin in order that if any of them were found to have become duophysites, they might be destroyed by the sword or imprisonment. Thus was peace achieved in all the churches of Albania.

Chapter 11. *The canons of Lord Simēon, catholicos of Albania, after the downfall of Nersēs*[2]

'THESE canons were laid down by Simēon, catholicos of Albania, upon his succession to the see at the council convened on account of the accursed Nersēs, who corrupted the rules of the Church, because of which it became necessary to readjust them. Beneficent, philanthropic, and almighty God wished in his mildness and great mercy to have pity on us and by reason of his great love he appointed us pastor, overseer, and primate of his intelligent flock, which is the holy and apostolic Church, Christ granting us this great and divine honour not because of any good works or worthiness on our part, but because, in accordance with his great mercy, he himself wished to grant us gifts in his grace; as the blessed apostle, through whom Christ spoke, says: "The Holy Spirit has made you pastors and overseers to watch over his flock with righteousness; I enjoin you to take heed unto yourselves and unto the flock" [Acts xx. 28]. When the Lord commanded Moses concerning the priests, he said: "I shall appoint thee chief and leader of my people, to warn them to keep my commandments; be diligent and brave and be not idle." In the same way the Lord admonishes us through other prophets: "Son of man, I have appointed thee a watchman over my people; warn them of my words as from me, to turn the sinner and the wicked from his evil path that he may live; and if thou givest no warning, his blood I will require from thine hands" [cf. Ezek. iii. 17–18]. This terrible and awful command we have from the Lord, and this also: "I gave you power to forgive sins and to free men from the bonds of sin." We have not

[1] *Dłmanç-n*; see *Dłmunk'*, &c., *HAG*, pp. 34–35.

[2] These are the 'seven canons' referred to at iii. 23, p. 229, but the text allows of no logical division into seven. Patkanean has divided it into six.

of ourselves or by force assumed this power and honour and the apostolic throne, but God, creator and maker of all things, has appointed us in this place to shepherd his people according to his pleasure. Therefore, my honoured friends and brothers, chosen disciples of Christ and faithful ministers of his commandments, it is fitting and worthy for us to cause the fruit of God to grow good and sweet for his pleasure and to build upon the apostolic foundation, which is Jesus Christ, with gold, silver and precious stones, that is, divers virtues and all good works, that when we appear before the Saviour our God we may receive the unfading crown of glory. Now, by the grace of the Holy Spirit and his commandments, as the Lord commanded us through prophets and apostles and vardapets, namely, that we must first love God with all our heart and keep his commandments, so I command you to maintain solid and firm that which we received from our true and godly fathers; likewise to maintain unhindered the rules of the holy Church and to make it glorious through blameless priests and ministers; to love each other as yourselves; to live the monastic life in unity according to the canonical command; not to allow unworthy and military men to acquire authority in the Church; to fornicators, adulterers, murderers, thieves, liars, perjurers, robbers, and evil-eyed and grasping men, and especially to soldiers and cavalrymen and tax collectors, let no one dare give authority in the Church, or its bread and income; for by divine law only blameless priests who make the offerings and the ministers of the altar may use what the people offer to the house of God on account of their sins; for the gifts belong to them, as does praying to God day and night for peace in the country and remission of sins and health of body and soul. It is commanded that the unworthy and the military[1] are not to have authority in the Church and thus bring wrath upon themselves and the country; for the Lord of glory, when he instructed Moses concerning the tabernacle, said: "Choose pure and unblemished priests from the tribe of Levi and no soldier or any unworthy trespasser or blemished person from

[1] *zinworaç*; *zinwor* is translated as *laicus* by K. Amatuni in his codification of the canons of the Armenian Church (*Disciplina armena*, fasc. vii of the series *Codificazione canonica orientale—Fonti*, Sacra Congregazione Orientale, Vatican, 1932); cf. canon No. 162 (of Sahak the Great): 'Indoctos vere, et laicos (*zinwors*) omnino extrudere debemus, neque eos ad participationem admittere fructuum, vel oblationum, quas populus tribuit domo Dei, usque vel ipsi vel eorum filii erudiantur, et dignos se reddant'; cf. also Nos. 175, 178.

the other tribes of Israel''; as the laws say: "let not the unworthy stand before my altar or dare to eat of the offerings''.[1] The priesthoods [of those] who behave unworthily shall be rejected and cut off from the inheritance. Let not the ordinary people usurp the ministry, the order or the place of priests; if any one should presume to do so, he shall be punished and slain like Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, who were swallowed into the earth, and like Uzza and many others who dared to exceed their station and minister unto God. For the tabernacle and the priests were models for the new covenant of the holy Church, into which no unworthy men or soldiers dared enter; moreover, the apostles enforced the same commandment by order of the Saviour, saying: "It has pleased the Holy Spirit and ourselves to ordain thus: let no soldiers or unworthy persons presume to submit the church to their authority; he who dares to do so shall be anathema.'' Our blessed fathers also confirmed this: "Let no one have authority to give the Church of God into the hands of unworthy men and soldiers, or to trade it like property, or to give it to princes or their governors as a gift. Likewise the priests shall not dare to give the offerings or the bread to the brothers and sons of unworthy men, nor trade the inheritance of the Church; but if the priest and (his) brothers and sons be found in unworthiness, they shall be rejected from the inheritance; and those who presume to do thus shall be anathema.'' We have that command from God and his commandments, and it is not proper to oppose God. And today also all laymen observe the same law concerning the churches, for when they sell their own private villages they write into the deed that which belongs to the Church and Church land. The churches of God are free and under the authority of no one but the bishops and those to whom they give them, that is, blameless and true holy priests, and not unworthy soldiers; let no one henceforth dare give them to these latter, for it is contrary to God's commandments, and it means perdition of body and soul to deliver the freedom of the Church into the hands of the unworthy. With regard to this, I hear many complaints to the effect that in many places soldiers have possession of the churches of God with the office of prior; with regard to their evil works they are not even fit to enter the Church, let alone to eat the bread and offerings of the Church. Concerning this

[1] These passages appear to be references to, not quotations from, Ex. xxix. 33, Num. i. 52, iii. 5–10, &c.

the godly K'šik, abbot of the monastery of Nersmihr, has written to say that Varaz-Trdat, prince of Albania, had given a small village to the holy cross to administer for the sake of his soul, but that now a cavalryman called P'usan-Veh, a layman living in debauchery, produces documents to the effect that the prince of Albania gave him the church together with the office of prior because he had been his tutor.[1] With regard to this, beloved brethren, these laws shall be valid from this time forth, and in accordance with the commandment of the Holy Spirit, P'usan-Veh shall not retain that church, but unsullied and unblemished priests shall govern it, for he received no authority from God or from us.

'Now I, Simēon, by the grace of God catholicos of Albania, have commanded in accordance with divine ordinances and canons that priests alone, the true and orthodox ones who did not accept the heresies of the wretched Nersēs, shall enjoy rights within the Church of God, and that soldiers and laymen shall have no power over the Church and shall not appropriate its gifts by force. If any one dare to do so, he shall be punished by God and by us. And if any should produce a deed concerning a church made in accordance with lay and secular laws but not with the divine ordinances and canons, it is null and void, and no one shall accept it as legal. For God commanded bishops and priests to tend the Church, and not soldiers and cavalrymen and unworthy persons.

'Now you, friends and brothers, bishops assigned as colleagues to the holy see, keep these divine canonical laws in every diocese and allow no presumption to oppress the churches of God and allow no priests to be reduced to servility, so that God may be reconciled with us, and having mercy upon us, may deliver us from all oppression. For the Lord has said: "Cast not your pearls before swine, and give not that which is holy to the dogs'' [Matt. vii. 6]; as God was pleased to call himself the Holy of Holies, he is himself to be served by blameless priests and not by unworthy persons.

'Now, I command all to heed the commandments of God and to render unceasing thanksgiving to merciful God for having taken vengeance upon the duophysitism of the filthy Nersēs, for having uprooted his evil tare from among us and for planting the roots of peace in our Church. Wherefore tend the needs of the Church

[1] Thus Varaz-Trdat, like his wife Spram (above, iii. 3, p. 189), incurred the disfavour of the Church.

with vigilance, for we must all appear before the awful tribunal of Christ and give a reckoning for the people and ourselves. Again I beseech you and say, be vigilant, and may the Holy Spirit be upon you. Amen.'

Chapter 12. *The exaction of tribute from Varaz-Trdat, prince of Albania, and his visit to the Greeks; he gives his sons as hostages. The succession of Mik'ayēl to the patriarchal throne of Albania after Simēon*

WITH the total decline of the kingdom of Persia and the increasing power of the southern race of Tačiks, the imposition of tribute became more onerous in the world, above all in the eastern regions, for the prince Varaz-Trdat paid tribute to three nations—the Khazars, the Tačiks (Arabs), and the Romans (Byzantines).[1] And the severest pressure came from the Greeks, for he was detained, together with his three sons, in the royal city by the emperor. And having given his sons as hostages, the prince himself fell sick and remained there; for they say with regard to the climate of that country that it is pestiferous for foreigners who enter the country in the spring, the season of sicknesses, and that the hair and the beard fall out in consequence thereof. In the course of the long sojourn of Varaz-Trdat, the king of the Greeks one day made a selection of precious jewels, summoned the prince of Albania, and showed them to him, saying craftily: 'In my house there are jewels more precious than these, and I shall give them to you, O prince crowned by God, for you are deserving of them.' And it was five years since the prince had arrived among the Romans,[2] but thanks

[1] The treaty concluded *c.* 685 between Justinian II and 'Abdu 'l-Malik providing for the division of the tribute paid by Armenia and Georgia between them (see Ostrogorsky, *Geschichte des byzantinischen Staates*, München, 1940, p. 85) doubtless affected also Albania.

[2] It is said below (p. 203) that Varaz-Trdat's sons Gagik and Vardan were imprisoned in the Byzantine capital for twelve years until the succession of Bardanes, thus apparently from the end of 699 to December 711. The reason for their imprisonment being allegedly their father's surrender of Albania to the Arabs, this latter act should apparently be dated at the end of 699; note that Armenia Quarta is said to have gone over to the caliph in 698 (Ostrogorsky, op. cit., p. 92). Varaz-Trdat and his sons are here said to have arrived in the capital five years before this 'revolt', presumably in 694. If this is so, Varaz-Trdat, escaping in 699, would have been present in Albania at the time of the Council of Partaw (May 704); at this, however, the civil power is represented by a Prince Šeroy (above, p. 190, n. 3), and it does not seem likely that Varaz-Trdat would remain voluntarily inactive while his queen Spram was gravely humiliated (above, p. 192). If we take the figure twelve years to refer to the whole of the period spent by the prince's sons, first as hostages, then as prisoners, in Constantinople, we can assume their arrival with their father in the capital to have taken place at the end of 699; Varaz-Trdat would thus have remained there for five years, escaped to Albania towards the end of 704, recognized the suzerainty of the caliph, and, perhaps, arranged with him the removal of Prince Šeroy to Syria (see below, p. 208). But how do Gagik and Vardan appear as signatories of the Council of Partaw in 704 (above, p. 194) when they are supposed to have been in Constantinople from at least 699 to 711? There is contradiction here; the compiler has doubtless drawn upon at least two conflicting sources.

to this opportunity he escaped with the help of God and returned to his own country, whereupon he gave the land of the east to the Tačiks and paid tribute to them alone.

And in the days of the same Varaz-Trdat an unbearable famine broke out within the borders of Albania, concerning which certain people related the following legend: 'I, millet from the canton of Šakašēn, lay hidden in the field of Kaku,[1] and many buyers passed me by and would not purchase me. Then the good time came when Brother Famine ruled, and lo! I appeared on the tables of Prince Varaz-Trdat and the catholicos Ełiazar,[2] and those who ate me got blood in their veins.[3] Do not blame them.'

The sons of Varaz-Trdat, prince of Albania, Gagik and Vardan, who were hostages in the hands of the Greeks, remained in a dark prison for twelve years because of the confusion brought about by the king; the surrender of the land of the east to the Tačiks by their father was the cause thereof. Upon the death of Justinian, king of the Romans, Vardan P'ilipikos, an Armenian noble, reigned as king,[4] and the king remembered those who were imprisoned alive in the dark fortress and commanded them to be freed from their unbearable sufferings. The sight of their eyes was enveloped in darkness. They were led little by little back into the light, and the king gave them gifts and sent them back to their own country, having given Gagik a relic of the life-giving cross, the light of the world. He gave the great gift to Mik'ayēl, catholicos of Albania,[5]

[1] *i vayrin Kakuay*; for the Iranian ('Dailamite') name *Kākūī*, *Kākōī*, NP *Kākū* 'uncle', see Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, Marburg, 1895, p. 152.

[2] This story is not in its proper chronological order, for Ełiazar died *c.* 687 (above, p. 137, n. 5, p. 190, n. 1).

[3] *arivnaberk' ełew* 'became blood-bearing', i.e. 'thrived'; not 'coughed blood', as Patkanean, p. 254.

[4] Justinian II Rhinotmetos, assassinated December 711; Bardanes Philippikos, 711–13.

[5] 706–41; see Dowsett, *BSOAS* xxi (1958), p. 478, n. 7.

and they set up the Lord's cross which bore the following inscription: 'Christ God, remember thy voluntary sufferings upon this cross for our salvation, and accept this cross which thou gavest to them that fear thee; forgive the sins of me, Mik'ayēl, catholicos of Albania, and have mercy upon this land, delivering it from all temptations, that on the day of thy coming we may be worthy to stand at thy right hand. I pray also for Gagik thy servant, and his sister Mariam, and Varazoy the great goldsmith.'

Chapter 13. *Mik'ayēl, catholicos of Albania, summons a council to prevent marriages between near relations*

THE blessed Mik'ayēl succeeded to the throne of the patriarchate of Albania after Simēon and remained upon it for thirty-five years. In his days a marriage took place among the princes of Albania in which Varazoy, son of Vaxtang and grandson of Varazman[1] married his first cousin Vardanuhi, also the grandchild of Varazman; and the Lord Mik'ayēl excommunicated them, saying: 'Do not dare to do thus, for you are grandchildren [of the same grandfather].' Varazoy, however, conceived the idea—which led to his destruction—of writing to T'alilē, catholicos of Georgia, requesting him to bless the illegal marriage. This unorthodox man decreed as follows: 'If you are of my confession, be blessed; but if you subscribe to the Albanian tradition, you know [what the position is].' Thereupon the patriarch of Albania Mik'ayēl convened a council of the clergy of his Church and summoned the laudable father Salōmōn, the holy prior of the monastery of Mak'enoç,[2] who at that time was the glory of Armenia; assembling all in the monastery of Berd in Šamk'or he and the council unanimously cursed the house of Varazoy. And in the same hour the Tačiks came and cut his throat with a sword on the breast of his mother,[3] and they killed the other son by causing him to be dragged behind a horse.

The council wrote a letter to T'alilē, bishop of Georgia, asking him: 'Why have you dared to violate the canons of the disciples of the holy apostles who assembled in Antioch[4] and excommunicated Paul of Samosata from the holy Church and laid down the

[1] See ii. 17, p. 109.
[2] See ii. 48, p. 175, n. 1.
[3] *i gog mōrn;* the meaning is presumably that he was slain in his own home.
[4] A.D. 269.

following canon: "Let no one take a relation to wife"? There is also the canonical command of St. Athanasius to the effect that "it is not marriage but fornication"; and the blessed Basil said the same concerning this act. Now, we who are an orthodox council curse you along with all heretics, and offer manifold praises to Christ the just judge.'

Chapter 14. *An inquiry by the same Mik'ayēl, patriarch of Albania, into the dumbness of Zacharias and the Nativity and Epiphany of the Saviour, against the duophysite sect*

FOR the Israelites Moses established the first day of the seventh month, that is, Tishri, as the Feast of Trumpets, the tenth day as the Feast of Atonement, the fifteenth day as the Feast of Tabernacles. The dumbness of Zacharias [lasted] from the seventeenth day until the twenty-second day of the same month of Tishri. Then he went to his home; and Elizabeth his wife conceived and, in the words of the evangelist Luke, 'for five months she hid herself and in the sixth month the angel Gabriel was sent from God' [Luke i. 24, 26]. Now let us see what this sixth month might be. We have consulted the calendar and found as follows: the twenty-second day of Tishri is the ninth day of the Roman month of October. Now we begin to count six months from the tenth day and arrive at the seventh day of April; this is in accordance with [the notice concerning the coming of] the angel in the sixth month. The Annunciation to the Virgin [fell] on the twelfth day of the Hebrew month Nisan; from thence to the fifth day of January[1] is 270 days, which is nine months, and [then occurred] the Nativity of Christ. We also possess what the vardapets have said. Nativity, Epiphany and the Annunciation are celebrated by the Church as one feast,[2] as one of the godly vardapets has said: 'the word [of God] attributes to us three births: one by the breath [of life], the second by becoming flesh and baptism, which are reckoned as one birth, and the third by resurrection.' Similarly Mark, the patriarch of Jerusalem, who was one of the Nicaean fathers, wrote in his letter of advice to the Armenians concerning the Baptism, saying that 'we celebrate the Nativity and the Baptism on one day'. And as death

1 So BM, E, &c.; S has *April.*
2 See M. Ormanean, *Cisakan baŕaran,* Anthelias, 1957, pp. 11, 14–15.

and burial remain unfulfilled without the Resurrection, ⟨so does birth without baptism⟩;[1] and as the gospel in [relating] the Resurrection [of Christ] first describes the Crucifixion and the Entombment and then mentions the Resurrection, similarly [baptism?] effects Salvation, about which the theologian again speaks. But now [about] the feast of the Epiphany, for God appeared born as a man. The bishops of Jerusalem, 42 bishops down to Cyril, and after them others down to Juvenal, celebrated the feast of the Nativity and Epiphany on the 6th January. One reckoned 400 years from the Ascension to Juvenal. Again [we must mention him] who states in a passage about David and James that in other cities they accept 25th December as the Nativity of Christ; in other cities they say that this belief derived from the heathens and not from the Circumcision, and that among the heathens one was accustomed to celebrate the birth of the sun on that day and that for this reason they would not agree to discontinue the feast. The apostles were obliged to yield to them and to fix the Feast of the Nativity for them on that day; but those [who received the tradition] from the Circumcision everywhere celebrate the feast on the 6th January, as it was handed down to our forefathers. So do we hold now, for it is said: 'the laws shall go forth from Sion and the word of God from Jerusalem' [Isaiah ii. 3].

Chapter 15. *What was done in the days of the son and grandson of Heraclius*

THE victorious Heraclius, king of Rome, won many battles and left after him the memory of his valour throughout the world. After him his son Constantine reigned as king of the Romans for three years.[2] In his days the Arabs conquered Syria (*Asorik'*) and exacted tribute from the churches of the holy city of Jerusalem; it was the eightieth year of the Armenian era.[3] Then Constans, son of the latter, reigned for twenty-nine years.[4] In his fifth year the

[1] So BM; S, E om.

[2] Constantine II reigned for only 103 days in 641; **amiss eris* 'three months' would therefore be preferable to *ams eris* 'three years'.

[3] 22.6.631–20.6.632; at this time Heraclius was still on the throne.

[4] Constans II (Constantine III), twenty-eight years, 641–68; ii. 28 (p. 127, n. 1) speaks of the 'thirtieth year' of his reign.

battle of Arabia took place.[1] In his sixth year the Arabs came to Armenia, Dwin was captured by them, and 35,000 people were taken prisoner.[2]

In his nineteenth year the lord Nersēs succeeded as catholicos of Armenia for twenty years; and it was the 111th year of the Armenian era.[3] He was the spiritual father of this same Constantine,[4] and at his expense he constructed a fold for the intelligent flock in K'ałak'udašt, namely, the church of St. Gregory,[5] and invited the king of the Greeks to the inauguration. The latter was greatly amazed at the edifice and ordered the builders to follow him that they might construct a similar one in his palace; the architect, however, never arrived, for he died on the way.[6]

Chapter 16. *The revolt of the Armenians and the coming of Mahmet to Armenia. The capture of Sewan and the death of Mahmet*

IN the year 146 of the Armenian era Mahmet II came to Armenia, and hurrying through Albania, entered Čołay.[7] The Armenians rebelled and trapped the Arabs in Dwin, and having called in many troops from Greece, slew 62,000.[8] In the same year the family of St. Gregory came to an end.[9] Mahmet returned from Čołay and

[1] i.e. 645/6. The battle of Egypt, the object of which was the recapture of Alexandria, continued for some years after 641 (see E. W. Brooks, 'On the chronology of the conquest of Egypt by the Saracens', *BZ*, 1895, pp. 435 ff.).

[2] i.e. 646/7; Asołik also dates the capture of Dwin at 646/7 (ii. 2, tr. Dulaurier, p. 127: 95 A; ii. 4, p. 152: 26 H) though he wrongly represents this to be the third year of Constans; Sebēos, xxx, tr. Macler, pp. 100–1, implies a date of 6.10.640; see H. Manandean, translated by H. Berberian, 'Les Invasions arabes en Arménie', *Byzantion*, xviii (1946–8), pp. 167–77; M. Canard, *Enc. Isl.*, new edition, s.v. 'Armīniya', pp. 635–7.

[3] The nineteenth year of Constans was 659/660; 111 A = 662/3; Nersēs III became catholicos in 641.

[4] Sebēos, xxxv, tr. Macler, p. 136, accuses him of being a secret Chalcedonian.

[5] i.e. Zuart'noç.

[6] On this legend see Khatchatrian, 'L'Architecture arménienne', *Vostan*, Paris, i (1948/9), p. 80, and refs.

[7] 5.6.697–4.6.698. Theophanes, p. 366, places this event in the year 693, but Markwart, *Streifzüge*, pp. 443–4, accepts 696/7 as the date of the arrival of Muḥammad b. Merwān in Armenia; see Grousset, op. cit., p. 309.

[8] S 3 var., E; BM 68,000; S 2000 (as Łewond, v).

[9] *elew zraw zarmiç srboyn Grigori*. The event referred to is the pillage of the monastery of St. Gregory at Bagawan; on the deeds of Muḥammad in Armenia, see refs. to Łewond, John Catholicos, Asołik, and Greek and Arab authors in Markwart, *Streifzüge*, pp. 444–50.

besieged Sewan, a fortress surrounded by water, for three years, finally taking it and putting those whom he found in it to the sword. Passing thence into Armenia, he defeated the Greek and Armenian armies. All the Armenian leaders whom he was unable to capture he seduced by means of a mighty oath, gathering them together by fraud and treachery. Taking them to the town of Naxiǰewan, he shut 800 men in the churches and burned them alive; in the same way he burned 400 in Xram and put the rest to the sword. The cause of their downfall was that they were all inspired by the spirit of error, despised and mocked the patriarchs and priests, and harassed the monks. Although the Armenians suffered these defeats, the Lord God did not fail to wreak vengeance upon Mahmet. Upon reaching Syria, he was afflicted by a grievous and mortal disease, and subsisting for barely seven months in the agonies of death, he died. Buried three times, he was each time cast up, for the earth would not receive his abominable corpse. Thereupon they took a dog and spitted it to Mahmet's corpse, and only thus would the earth embrace the wicked man.

After this they took Šeroy, prince of Albania, and his nobles to Tarōn and thence to Syria; and it was the 153rd year of the Armenian era.[1] And in the following year they took the lord of Širak to Syria.

After two years Mruan, prince of the Arabs, came to Gilan, but was unable to enter it.

The lord of the Khazars arose with 80,000 men and took Albania; and it was the 158th year of the Armenian era.[2]

After two years Abdl Aziz[3] came to Albania and sat in Partaw. They brought before him the brothers Manuk and Mardazat,[4] who were of noble birth, and subjected them to many and divers tortures on account of their Christian faith; Manuk, inheriting the glory of blessed martyrdom, was crowned by Christ, and his precious relics were placed in the great church of Partaw, the church of St. Gregory. His brother Mardazat, however, who could not endure the tortures, renounced Christ God before the assembled multi-

[1] 3.6.704–2.6.705. [2] 2.6.709–1.6.710.

[3] 'Abdu 'l-'Azīz b. Ḥātim al-Bāhilī, governor of Armenia (biography in Laurent, p. 339, para. 11); see Markwart, *Streifzüge*, p. 448–9; Grousset, op. cit., pp. 313–14.

[4] S *Manuk ew Mirdazat*; P1 . . . *Mardazat*; P5 *Manuk ew Merdazat*; P4, BM, V1, 2 *Mankik ew Merd, azat* (*elbars*) 'M. and M., noble brothers'; E, S 2 var. *Mankik ew Mardazat.*

tude. He subsequently repented and atoned for his apostasy with many bitter tears. For the remainder of his life he made his tears a font of expiation and washed away the stain of the sin he had committed. He lamented from the bottom of his heart to Him who knows that which is hidden [from men] and remained afflicted with unconsolable grief unto the release of his soul; and He who had mercy and compassion upon him received him among the martyrs, and wonderful miracles were observed at the time of his death.

And in the same year Abdl Aziz passed beyond the river Kur.

After three years[1] Msliman came and sacked Darband and penetrated among the Khazars. He was unable to return victorious, however, and there abandoned his army and all its equipment, even employing his concubines as his rearguard. The Eřanšahik[2] Vačagan from among the patricians of Albania, a brave and vigorous prince and a skilful archer, was stationed with his army at his rear. The Khazars pursued him, but they were defeated and put to flight. Thus delivered, Msliman entered Georgia.

In the summer of the year 174[3] there was a plague among the cattle, and in the winter a cadastre was made by Hert'[4] which subjected man and beast and all regions of the country to servitude by the imposition of heavy tribute. At the same time the Amet'duk'[5] slew J̌uanšēr, prince of Albania. In the same year Smbat, prince of Armenia, died.[6]

In the year 175 of the Armenian era[7] there was a severe famine.

When another three years had passed J̌ařah passed a second time through the Abkhaz to the Khazars.[8] The following year the son of

[1] i.e. 163 A = 714/15; Asołik, ii. 4, tr. Dulaurier, p. 158, says Muslim marched on Derbend in the third year of Sulaimān, i.e. 717, and Ł ewond, ed. Shahnazarean, p. 38, in the second year of Sulaimān, i.e. 716; see Laurent, p. 339.

[2] See above, p. 108, n. 3. [3] 29.5.725–28.5.726.

[4] Ḥārith b. 'Amr al-Ṭā'ī (see Laurent, p. 339, No. 17); Mxit'ar Ayrivaneçi, tr. Brosset, p. 79, says he was appointed in 170 A (721/2) by Hishām, but the latter ruled from 724 to 743; the date here given for the cadastre (*aśxarhagir*) suggests that Mxit'ar gives the wrong date but the right caliph. Balādhurī (see M. Ghazarean, *Armenien unter der arabischen Herrschaft*, p. 39, No. 12), however, places him under Yazīd II (702–24). See also Ł ewond, viii.

[5] D1, S; E *Amet'eduk'n*; BM, Q *Mit'edosk'n*; V1, 2 *T'it'ēdok'sn.*

[6] Smbat Bagratuni, curopalates, called Biwratean; see refs. in Markwart, *Streifzüge*, pp. 449–50; Grousset, op. cit., pp. 313–15. MD, who appears to be the only author to give the date of his death, here assigns it to the year 174 A, not 175 A as Markwart, *Streifzüge*, p. 449. [7] 29.5.726–28.5.727.

[8] i.e. in 178 A = 28.5.729–27.5.730. Al-Djarrāḥ b. 'Abdu'llāh al-Ḥakamī was governor of Armenia under Yazīd III (720–4). His first attack on the Khazars

the lord of the Khazars rose and killed Jaŕah[1] and took Jagik prisoner.

In the year 180 Msliman rebuilt Darband in the name of the Arabs.[2] They did not, however, destroy the palace of the eastern patriarch, which still stands there.

Chapter 17. *Concerning the visit of Bishop Step'annos to the Romans and his bringing back books not to be found in the east; his death; and the chastisement sent by God*[3]

AT that time Step'annos Siwneçi, while still a young man and skilled and versed in the study of the scriptures, chanced to dispute with Smbat, the duophysite general (*aspet*) of Armenia, and leaving him unconvinced, went to the Romans and found there a certain orthodox hermit under whom he studied diligently. The duophysite Smbat wrote, however, to the king of the Romans, saying: 'A certain heretic Step'annos has departed hence and dwells with a hermit of such and such a name.' The king was very angry and summoned him to the court, and the hermit advised him to tell the king that he was a homeless, exiled beggar. When he heard this, the wrath of the tyrant abated, and Step'annos, emboldened, said to the emperor: 'I should like to request you to order the chests of books to be opened.' Finding therein a book bound in gold concerning the Faith, he brought it to him, and when he had read it, the emperor sent Step'annos into the city of Rome [Constantinople] to fetch three books written in the same vein as the first, concerning the true faith, that he might quote them in order that the country might be converted to the beliefs contained in those writings. Step'annos, however, having fetched the books from Rome,

took place in 722 (see Markwart, *Streifzüge*, p. 18; Ghazarean, op. cit., p. 39, No. 13; Laurent, p. 172, n. 12, p. 339, No. 18).

[1] i.e. in 179 A = 28.5.730–27.5.731; Arab sources date this at 112 H = 26.3.730–14.3.731 (see refs. in Markwart, *Streifzüge*, p. 11; Laurent, loc. cit.; Grousset, op. cit., p. 316).

[2] i.e. 28.5.731–26.5.732; Msliman is therefore Maslamah b. 'Abdu'l-Malik, governor of Armenia under Hishām, who arrived in Armenia in 109 H (= 28.4.727–15.4.728); see Laurent, op. cit., p. 339, No. 19; Ghazarean, op. cit., p. 39, No. 14. Asołik, ii. 4, tr. Dulaurier, p. 158, relates how Mslim (see above, p. 209, n. 1), dispatched against the Honk' in 717, started to demolish Darband, but finding Marcian's inscription, rebuilt that which had been knocked down. Maslamah was fighting against the Khazars in 113 H (15.3.731–2.3.732); see Markwart, *Streifzüge*, p. 18.

[3] Cf. St. Orb. xxxi.

ignored the command of the ruler and made for the town of Dwin in order to teach his own country from them. At the request of Babgen and K'urdoy, he was consecrated bishop of Siwnik', and having held the bishopric for one year, he was killed in the canton of Mozu. They say that his death was occasioned by lewd women; his body was taken to the hall of Arkazan and thence laid to rest in T'anahatiç Vank'. And owing to the blessed Step'annos's action in bringing these writings from Rome, the bishopric of Siwnik' was accorded third place among the bishoprics of Armenia.

A certain hermit called Noy (Noah) saw a vision in which Step'annos showed his blood-stained breast to the Saviour saying: 'Behold this, Lord, for Thy judgement is just.' And announcing the coming of the wrath [of the Lord] throughout the canton, he besought all to pray, and an impenetrable darkness descended over the borders of Mozu, and the earth shook for forty days, and nigh on 10,000 souls were swallowed up; and because of this [the place] was called Vayoç Jor (Valley of Woe).

Chapter 18. *In the books of Step'annos there is to be found an account of the destruction of the city of Ilion and the building of Rome*[1]

IN the days of Abdan the Judge Ilion was taken as follows. This city was in the land of the Achaeans adjacent to the Peloponnese west of Macedonia in the land of Europe. At that time there was no king of Greece, the whole land being ruled by princes. Ilion was a great city and there was not its like on earth. In those days a certain young man from among the princes of the city went to the town of Thessalonica, which is in the east of Macedonia, in search of diversion, and was received by the nobles of the town. Falling in love with the daughter of a great man, he abducted her and brought her to the city of Ilion. When her parents sought for her, they realized that she had been carried off by the youth, and writing a letter to the people of Ilion, they received an arrogant reply. He [the father] read it aloud to his people, and thirsting for revenge, they summoned all the neighbouring peoples to help them. They drew up a numberless army and waged war with Ilion for fifteen

[1] There is no mention of these garbled versions of the *Iliad* and *Aeneid* in St. Orb.

years, laying the whole country waste. Then, conceiving another plan, they sent a conciliatory message to its citizens, saying: 'Great are the gods of Ilion, and it is due to them that our strength has failed. We would make peace and henceforth be friends, and we would honour the gods of Ilion with gifts.' They trusted these words, and [the Greeks] built 2,000 hollow wooden horses and placed 40,000 warriors within them; plating the horses with gold and silver, they stood them on carts and dragged the ruinous gifts to the gate of the city, where the herald announced: 'These are gifts for your gods of Ilion!' The horses were 9 cubits in height, and being unable to get them through the city gate, they demolished part of the wall. And at the time appointed for their issuing forth, they took possession of the breach, and a host of soldiers went in, and the whole city, including old men and children, was put to the sword. Taking the women prisoner, they re-embarked upon their ships to return to their own country in Asia, but a violent wind blew from the east and drove their ships 2,500 miles off course and cast them on to a foreign land called Italy. They intended to set sail again for their own country, but the captive women, in order that they might not be made slaves, set fire to the ships in the middle of the night, and not one remained. When the men saw what had happened, they remained against their will in that country and married the captive women. When a long time had passed, a leader whom they had appointed from among themselves, a certain Romulus (*Hṙomelos*), built a city in his own name—Rome (*Hṙom*)—25 miles from the sea. These formed the Roman nation. This was 441 years after the capture of Ilion, and when the forty-fourth year came, Philip sat as king in Rome. It was 1,000 years after the building of Rome that Constantine transferred [the throne of] the kingdom thence to Byzantium, which is now called Constantinople.

Chapter 19. *The events which occurred in Albania in the third century of the Armenian era*

IN those days the tyranny of the harsh and cruel race of southerners spread to the ends of the earth and devoured all the beauty and glory of mankind. The time of this rebellion is to be understood from St. Paul's words: 'The judge standeth before the door and near is the hour of terror, the dreadful and impartial day' (Jas. v. 9). Thus did the savage Ismaelite Hagarites plunder the abundance of

the earth for their own use. Both land and sea obeyed the precursors of the Antichrist, the children of perdition. Great privations occurred in this our house of Albania, for the Tačiks wrested the capital Partaw from the Albanian princes in accordance with the corruption of their race; as they established the main seat of their authority in Damascus of the Syrians (*Asorestanik'*), so here in Albania they set up their courts in Partaw and sucked the riches of the country dry. One of them came from the court to Partaw and the Armenians, in their country's distress, sent their patriarch Lord Esayia[1] and his bishops to him. The princess Vardanurhi,[2] grievously afflicted by the judgement of God, hearing of his arrival, went to meet him to ask for mercy upon her grievous sufferings, for she had drunk the cup of bitterness from the hand of the Lord in accordance with the scriptures. The blessed patriarch of Armenia, yielding to the woman's tears and taking up his abode in her house, offered prayers to God throughout the night that He might absolve the anathemas of former patriarchs. The lord Sołomon, catholicos of Albania,[3] conferred with his bishops and loosed the bonds laid upon her by his predecessors, and by virtue of the prayers of them both, the afflicted woman was saved.

To Varaz-Trdat, son of Varazman, God granted life; his son Step'annos,[4] however, died prematurely, while his brother Varazman, losing his way, was drowned in the river Kur, which became his grave. Juanšerik his brother remained as his heir. This much happened so far.

At the end of the 270th year of the Armenian era[5] chosen men from among the Arabs secretly left Partaw and plundered the

[1] His dates are uncertain. Asołik, ii. 2, tr. Dulaurier, pp. 133–4, gives the date of his election as 221 A (772/3) and the length of his patriarchate as thirteen years (i.e. until 785/6); at ii. 4, tr., p. 162, however, he is said to die at the time of the exodus of the 12,000 Armenians under Šapuh Amatuni (791 according to Laurent, who dates Esay at 778–91); see Laurent, pp. 131, 158, 341, No. 40; Grousset, op. cit., p. 338.

[2] D1, BM, Q, V1, 2 *Vardanurheay*; S, E *Vardanuhwoy*. See above, iii. 13.

[3] Either Sołomon I (782) or Sołomon II (786–97); see Dowsett, *BSOAS* xxi (1958), p. 478, nn. 15 and 17. Both held office during the catholicosate of Esay.

[4] These are not to be confused with the ruler of Albania, Varaz-Trdat, son of Step'annos, and his son Step'annos (below, p. 226, n. 2); see the genealogical table of the Mihrakan dynasty in Brosset, *Additions*, p. 480, reproduced in Grousset, op. cit., p. 647.

[5] i.e. 5.5.821–4.5.822; see V. Minorsky, 'Caucasica, IV,' *BSOAS* xv (1953), p. 508. On the confusion of dates and persons in St. Orb.'s parallel passage, see Dowsett, *BSOAS* xix (1957), p. 465.

canton of Amaras, took about one thousand prisoners and fortified themselves within the borders of Mec Irank' in the place called Šikak'ar. Thereupon the brave and magnificent Lord Sahl i Smbatean Eřanšahik,[1] accompanied by his powerful brothers and his army, fell upon them at dawn and slew and scattered them all, freeing their prisoners as from the jaws of the lion. In the same year the world-plundering Arab Sewada, who was named Awařanšan,[2] carried out a raid within the borders of Armenia. Looting every region, he turned towards Siwnik' and fortified himself in the fortress of the village of Šalatu in the canton of Cłukk'. Vasak, lord of Siwnik', calling in Baban, defeated him and put him to flight. The Lord of Siwnik' died in the same year; and Baban took to wife the daughter of Vasak, lord of Siwnik'.[3] In the same year the lord Nerseh i P'ilippean slew Varaz-Trdat i Step'annosean and slaughtered his son on his mother's breast,[4] stealing all his possessions.[5] This Varaz-Trdat was of the Mihrakan family which inherited Albania from father to son. He was the eighth ruler after Varaz-Grigor, the first prince of Albania.[6]

After this the canton of Bałk' revolted against the impious Baban, and coming from Persia, he seized and laid waste the country and put the women and children of Bałk' to the sword.

The next year Baban passed into the canton of Gełark'uni and put about 15,000 inhabitants to the sword and burned the great monastery[7] of Mak'enoç. Only the water-mill remained, and no-

[1] On Sahl, see Minorsky, op. cit., pp. 505–10; Dowsett, *BSOAS* xix (1957), pp. 462–3; Z. M. Buniatov, 'Novye dannye o nakhozhdenii kreposti Shaki', *Doklady Ak. Nauk Azerb. SSR*, Baku, v, xv, no. 9 (1959), pp. 869–72.

[2] Sawāda b. 'Abdu 'l-Ḥamīd al-Ḏiaḥḥāfī; see Markwart, *Streifzüge*, pp. 453, 458–9. *Awařanšan*, which appears to mean 'sign of plunder', is perhaps a pun on *Arrānshāh*; see Patkanean, p. 267, n. 2, Shahnazarean's edition, ii, n. 34.

[3] See Minorsky, op. cit., p. 509.

[4] From Brosset's translation of St. Orb. xxxiii, *Histoire de la Siounie*, i, p. 96, it would appear that the scene of the murder was a place called Mor Gog ('trou à boue, bourbier', i.e. 'Mudhole'), but this is due to a mistranslation of *i mōrn gog* (ed. Tiflis, 1910, p. 158: *gog mōrn*) 'on his mother's breast'; see above, p. 204 n. 3. The real name of the scene of the murder (Dadoyi Vank') is given below (iii. 22, p. 226).

[5] See below, iii. 22, p. 226; Markwart, *Streifzüge*, p. 457; Minorsky, loc. cit., p. 509, n. 1.

[6] Varaz-Trdat was thus the last of the Mihrakans; see Markwart, *Streifzüge*, p. 457; Laurent, p. 112, n. 9.

[7] The text reads *mayrak'aṫak'* 'metropolis'; St. Orb., i. 33, tr. Brosset, p. 97, has *mayravank'* 'mother monastery'. St. Orb. adds that the escaping monks split into two groups, but does not mention the survival of the water-mill.

thing else. And it was the year 276 of the Armenian era (4.5.827–2.5.828).

After two years Baban defeated Tōsi[1] and persecuted about 150,000 souls.

The next year Baban defeated Abrahim son of Łet'.[2] In the same year men who simulated love and peace called Dawon and Šapuh slew Step'annos called Ablasad, who had called in Baban and had defeated the Bałakaneçik' who with sword and lance had massacred the canton of Berjor and the villages of Uřeaç, Kařnakaš, Hakari, and Tap'at. And again they rebelled against Baban, and opposing him in battle, fortified themselves in the fortress of Goroz and held the following cantons for twelve years: Verin Vaykunik', Berjor, Sisakan, Haband, Amaras, Pazkank', Mxank', and Tri-gawař.

Ablasad's associates subsequently seized his assassins and tortured them to death. Esay, called Abu Musē, a man of peace, nephew of Ablasad, took possession of those same cantons and ruled over them all.[3] And in the same year Baban crossed the river Araxes from Persia and encamped in the canton of Amaras. He began by talking words of peace to persuade them to submit to him; to gain time some [outwardly] repented and submitted to him, but subsequently, having deceived him, they rebelled. Baban, returning thence to his own country in Atrpatakan in Persia, left a certain general Řostom behind him with an army. He commanded him not to do battle with the fortress, but to bring it to submission peacefully. Řostom ignored Baban's command, however, and waged war against those who had fortified themselves in the stronghold. The men of the fortress, trusting in the power of Christ and carrying crosses and relics of the saints before them, inflicted a severe defeat upon the Persian army.

They say that at the same time a certain Serop who was bishop of Amaras went to Rome and asked the king for a piece of the relics of the saints, which was granted to him. It is rumoured contrary to all writings that this was the right arm of St. Gregory with which one blesses the holy chrism. These are, however, surprising and terrible things to assert; they say that St. Gregory received the tradition from Caesarea by the authority of the Greek patriarchs,

[1] BM, V1, 2 *Tōsin*; P1, 5, S, E *Tawusin*; P4 *Dosin*; Ant. *Dawusin*; i.e. Muḥammad b. Ḥumaid al-Ṭūsī; see Markwart, p. 459.

[2] Ibrāhīm b. al-Laiṯ b. al-Fadl; see Minorsky, loc. cit., p. 509, n. 4.

[3] Minorsky, loc. cit., pp. 512–13; Dowsett, loc. cit., pp. 463–5.

and that he himself could not bless the oil, but that the Armenians received the oil from Caesarea down to the Council of Chalcedon; then, when they had grown stronger, they separated and in their opposition contrived to establish the right to bless the oil themselves, separating from the Greeks; (they say) that this is a mere custom taken from Chronicles, and that it is not orthodox, but nonsensical and heretical.

Chapter 20. *Mamun, prince of the Tačiks, goes to Rome where he is defeated; an account thereof in brief*

IT was in the 280th year of the Armenian era that Mamun the Tačik decided to attack the Romans (Byzantines).[1] Building a hundred ships he manned them with 100,000 strong men, and putting to sea, went to besiege the great city of Constantinople. When the news reached the Greeks they immediately hastened out along another part of the sea, encircled and attacked the enemies of the cross of Christ and defeated and slew them all, including Mamun himself. In this same victory they sailed against the Arab ships and fed their multitudes to the sword and the waters until not one remained alive. These great defeats suffered by the Arabs came to pass thanks to the great power of the life-giving cross of Christ.

After three years, a certain amir Badsli[2] arrived at the command of the prince of the Tačiks called the Amir Mumin in the town of Naxiǰewan; there he seized a young man named Yovhan who was cruelly tormented on account of his Christian faith and was martyred during Lent shortly before Easter Day. His relics frightened the enemies by their radiant brilliance, and seeing this, they covered up all traces during the night and none of the Christians knew of it; only to Him who crowned him was the matter known.

⟨And the next year there were heavy rains for forty days and the river Kur filled to overflowing and flooded the land for 15 parasangs beyond its established limits. There emerged from the

[1] i.e. 3.5.831–1.5.832. Al-Ma'mūn's campaign against Theophilus lasted from 830 to 833, when the caliph died of a fever, not at the hands of the Greeks. The mention of a naval attack on Constantinople suggests that our historian has confused the events of this war with Maslamah's siege of the capital in 716/17.

[2] Al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī al-Bādhghīsī; see Dowsett, *BSOAS* xix (1957), p. 457, n. 1.

Caspian Sea[1] a dragon-fish as large as a mountain, and it swallowed the fishermen's fish into its belly, and the fishermen laboured in vain. Then the sailors devised a plan, assembled in one place, and cut the fish with a sword in the region of its tail until it died, and the Kur bore it away whence it came. Thereafter it was easy for the fishermen to catch the fish, for they came as though released from prison.

In the same year Lord Dawit', catholicos of Armenia, died, and he cursed those who stole the land of St. Gregory, who were these: Abdlmelk' [son of] J̌ahab, whereby he was killed; Abdla son of Surharč and Abuǰap'r Aracaṣi were taken to Partaw and both flayed alive.

And we learned this information concerning the court of the Amir Momnin: to the right of the court sits the chief of the *šurta* who is greater than the chief of the executioners elsewhere, and on the left the judge and the amir of the Treasury who render justice and [receive] the payment of taxes of the universe. One appears before them at the ninth hour and receives the decision on the following day. They also administer the public services.

In the year 286 of the Armenian era 20,000 horsemen suddenly emerged from Baghdad and ravaged the land of Albania. Hereupon Sahl i Smbatean, who was of the Zaṙmirhakan family of kings, having as his ally the great martyr George, lifted up his eyes and met them like an eagle swooping down upon helpless birds. And he smote them and scattered them over the plains and put them to flight. In the same year the same Lord Sahl i Smbatean captured the rebel Baban, the murderous, world-ravaging, bloodthirsty beast, and delivered him into the hands of the amir Momnin. And for his efforts he received a goodly reward from the court, for he received sovereignty over Armenia, Georgia, and Albania, to rule authoritatively and regally over all.

In the year 287 of the Armenian era Abraham Amir Momnin went with a large army to the kingdom of the Romans and took the great city of Emovria (Amorium) by sword and enslavement. And thence he returned home; he is Apu Sahak.

In the same year the Lord of Lords Yovhannēs, who became lord of Armenia, Georgia, and Albania, supplicated the court a second time for these three lands through Bulxar Xoyta Patgos.

And in this year a locust came from the direction of the Khazars,

[1] Cf. iii. 21, p. 224, n. 1.

an extraordinary thing larger than a sparrow, and it devoured part of the land of Albania.

After two years the winter was severe, and it afflicted and brought death upon many beasts and herdsmen. And in these days the Bałakanaçik' came and wrought havoc upon the cantons of Sisan Jor and Amaras. And Esay called Abu Musē rose against them and routed them.)[1]

When another two years had passed after this, Xazr Patgos, a furious and merciless man, came and was slain in the same year;[2] his son came, however, and took our land by the sword and enslaved us and burned down many churches and went to Baghdad. Returning thence at the king's command and expense, he built the city of Ganjak in the canton of Aršakašēn.[3] After this he raided the land of Siwnik' and enslaved the territory of Bałk', and descended into the canton of Ałahēǰ to a village called Ark'unaget, where he ordered the church dedicated to St. Gregory to be burned down. Thereupon a miracle occurred and a horseman on a white steed rushed out of the church in the sight of all, and galloping into his camp, threw the impious man and his soldiers into confusion and put them to flight across the mountain called Ełǰer Xoṙ. There a violent tempest overtook them and only those who relied upon their horse alone were able to escape, while those with saddled horses and [their] loot perished on top of the mountains,[4] and the prisoners remained in peace, glorifying God.

In the fulfilment of the 300th year of the Armenian era [28.4.851–26.4.852] the Christian princes of Armenia and Albania paid the price of their sins, for in this year they were taken prisoner, cast into irons by the Arabs, exiled from their homes, and sent against their will to Baghdad.[5] There the impious one tortured them and

[1] For the text and a commentary on the above passage, see Dowsett, *BSOAS* xix (1957), pp. 456–68.

[2] i.e. 291 A (30.4.842–29.4.843). *Xazr* (to be amended to *Xałd* despite Markwart's hesitance) *Patgos* is Khālid b. Yazīd b. Mazyad; Markwart, *Streifzüge*, p. 462. His son Muḥammad is correctly called Mahmet son of Xałt' below (p. 219).

[3] BM adds 'in the year 295' (29.4.846–28.4.847); the same date is given in a short list (14th century?) reproduced in V. A. Yakobean, *Manr žamanakagrut'yunner* [*Minor chronicles*], i, Erevan, 1951, p. 391; see V. Minorsky, *A history of Sharvān and Darband in the 10th–11th centuries*, Cambridge, 1958, p. 57.

[4] P4, BM *isk pałanawork'n* (P4 B) *aṙ ew apurk' i leranç veray korean*; P1, 5, E *isk pałanawork'n ew aṙapuṙk' i. . . .*; S *isk kalanawork'n* ['prisoners'] *ew aṙapurk' i . . .*

[5] Asolik, ii. 2, also gives the year 300 A as the beginning of the campaign of Bughā 'l-Kabīr. It is not correct that all the Albanian princes were captured in this year; MD indicates below that Bughā's activity extended over three years; cf. Grousset, op. cit., pp. 359–69.

compelled them to abandon the faith, and many of them died the eternal death by forsaking the inviolable treasure of the holy faith. A certain blessed Šapuh Arcruni and another excellent man from among the Armenian nobles preferred a martyr's death to a worthless life, and the Arab tyrant commanded them to be thrown into the Euphrates bound in iron chains. For many days flaming torches appeared over the river, and the jealous Amir Momnin ordered men to go down into the river, fetch up the bones, and burn them. When the divers went down, the light went out, and when after searching the waters they came up again, the light shone in all its splendour over the waters. Then the Amir Momnin summoned J̌ap'r, bishop of Asorestan, and commanded him to search for the relics. The bishop came to the bank of the Euphrates, sent the divers down, and finding the bones of the blessed men, took them to his own church and ordered a written memorial to be made for them.

In this year great rains suddenly poured down upon the canton of Mec Irank' and the floods inundated the village of Dastakert at the junction of the rivers and carried off 800 tents belonging to the shepherds who had come to graze their flocks in the Caucasus in the summer. The Lord Sup'an died in Vayoç Jor in the same year.[1]

In the next year Buła came to Armenia and killed Sahak Ismayelean in the city of Tiflis;[2] he held Armenia for three years at the end of which he transferred the princes and their wives to Baghdad. Then Mahmet son of Xałt' came in the fourth year[3] and the Lord Vasak Gabuṙ died.[4]

In the 318th year of the Armenian era occurred the terrible earthquake at Dwin, which remained active for a whole year and

[1] Grigor-Sup'an, prince of Gełark'unik'; see St. Orb., lv, tr. Brosset, p. 172; John Catholicos, xiii, tr. St. Martin, p. 105.

[2] i.e. in 301 A (852/3); Asolik, ii. 2, tr. Dulaurier, p. 137, implies a date 302 A for the death of Isḥāq b. Ismā'īl b. Shu'aib; for other refs. see Markwart, *Streifzüge*, p. 423, Laurent, pp. 320–21.

[3] In 855, after the departure of Bughā, Muḥammad b. Khālid became governor of Armenia for the third time; see Laurent, p. 345, Nos. 77 and 82, p. 346, No. 88.

[4] Son and heir of Grigor-Sup'an; cf. St. Orb., loc. cit.; John Catholicos, loc. cit. John Catholicos mentions his '*flattering* name of Gabuṙ', perhaps thinking of Syr. *gabbārā* 'hero' or Ar. *djabbār* 'proud, tyrant', or some local cognate word.

swallowed up 120,000 men into the abyss.[1] Behold, this is an ensample for the admonition of Man.[2]

Chapter 21. *The siege of Partaw by the son of Šex and the armies of Armenia and Albania. Samuēl usurps the dignity [of catholicos] and goes to Dwin*

AT the time of the dispute between Esay son of Šex[3] and his minister Mahmet son of Ablvahd called Emēnik,[4] the former drew up his armies from the land of Asorestan in alliance with prince Ašot,[5] who also assembled the Armenian army in co-operation with the princes of Albania; and they went and camped[6] at the gate of Partaw and fought skilfully for thirteen years. At that time occurred the death of Yovsep', patriarch of Albania,[7] and the princes of Albania had no time to elect a successor to the patriarchal throne. Samuēl, bishop of Mec Kołmank',[8] however, conniving with a priest Misayēl[9] called 'the philosopher', cunningly gave his bishopric to Misayēl[9] without consecration by the right hand of a superior, while Samuēl himself received an invalid consecration from the bishop he had himself appointed. News of this reached the army and caused great confusion among the princes of Albania. One of this company informed the Lord Gēorg, catholicos of Armenia,[10] who wrote to the prince of Armenia, defining the canonical laws and beseeching him to establish peace. Samuēl,

[1] i.e. 23.4.869–22.4.870. Other historians give different dates (Asołik, ii. 2, 312 A = 863/4, Samuēl Aneçi, tr. Brosset, *Collection*, ii, p. 427, also 312 A; T'ovma Arcruni, iii. 22, implies 859/60, and John Catholicos, xxiii, 860/1).

[2] P1, 5, D1, BM, *aha nmanut'iwn xratoy ays i mard* (cf. 1 Cor. x. 11); P4, E *aha nmanut'iwn xotoy asi mard* 'behold, man is said to be like grass'.

[3] 'Īsā b. Shaikh b. Khālid al-Shaibānī, governor of Armenia from *c.* 870; see Laurent, p. 347, No. 91.

[4] Muḥammad b. 'Abdu 'l-Wāḥid al-Yamanī; cf. T'ovma Arcruni, iii. 19, p. 218.

[5] Ašot I Bagratuni, prince of princes 861, king of Armenia 886–90; see refs. in Grousset, op. cit., pp. 372 ff.

[6] S *harkanen złakišn*. The other readings make no sense: D1, P1, 2, S 1 var. . . . *p'šakišn*; D3, P3, 4, 5, E, S 1 var. Patk. . . . *kšakišn*. There is no such form in the parallel account of TA iii. 19.

[7] *Ca.* 875; see Dowsett, *BSOAS* xxi (1958), p. 479, n. 2, and below, p. 221, n. 2.

[8] D1, 3, P1, 2, 3, 5, E, S; P4, Q, V1, 2 *Mec Kueniç*.

[9] P1–5, Q, V1, 2, E, S, Patk. have *Misayēl* in the first instance; P4, Q, V1, 2, S have *Misayēl* also in the second instance, whereas P1, 2, 3, 5, E, Patk. have *Ismayēl*.

[10] Gēorg II, 876–97.

however, cunningly won over the chiefs and princes of Albania and made peace between them, whereby they incurred the anathema of the Armenians. Ašot, prince of Armenia, demanded that they observe the rule of St. Gregory and that they accept consecration from the Armenians, but they had in the meantime become reconciled to the irregularities of Samuēl and Misayēl.[1] The great prince of Armenia wrote to the patriarch Gēorg to this effect, and with the approbation of all the Albanians, he consented to Samuēl, though against his will. Then the presumptuous Samuēl travelled to Dwin to be reconsecrated by Gēorg, catholicos of Armenia, in the days of Ašot, prince of Armenia, in the 326th year of the Armenian era.[2] The same prince Ašot of Armenia, with the help of the bishop Sołomon and the patriarch Gēorg, wisely renewed the mission to Siwnik' which had been interrupted for a long time.[3] At the same time Ašot Bagratuni was established on the throne of his kingdom among the Armenian people,[4] the rank of king having a long time since ceased to exist in the house of T'orgom.

In the 342nd year of the Armenian era the Tačiks came to Armenia and seized the country, subjecting it to the yoke of slavery and tribute, and the patriarch Gēorg was seized by them and taken to Partaw in iron fetters.[5]

Then the pious Hamam[6] revived the fallen kingship of the house

[1] P1, 2, 4, 5, S, Patk.; P3, E *Ismayēl*.

[2] 21.4.877–20.4.878; see Dowsett, *BSOAS* xxi (1958), p. 479, n. 3, where some adjustment may be necessary; in dating the death of Yovsep' and the accession of Samuēl, however, some time must be allowed for the events above described, and Samuēl was possibly effective patriarch of Albania for one or two years before his reconsecration at Dwin.

[3] See refs. in Grousset, p. 390.

[4] In 333 A (884/5) according to Samuēl Aneçi; 344 A (885/6) according to St. Orb. xxxvii; see Grousset, p. 394.

[5] 342 A = 17.4.893–16.4.894; cf. Asołik, iii. 3; John Catholicos, xxvi; and refs. in Grousset, pp. 402–3.

[6] Cf. St. Orb. lv, tr. Brosset, p. 172. Asołik, iii. 3, tr. Macler, p. 14, calls him 'king (*t'agawor*) of Albania', John Catholicos, xvii, tr. St. Martin, p. 158, 'great prince (*mec išxan*) of the east'. Of him, Brosset (p. 173) says: 'nous ne connaissons ni son origine, ni sa descendance, ni la durée de sa dynastie.' Mas'ūdī, however, names an Atrnerseh son of Hamam as ruler of Šak'ē, *c.* 943 (see Laurent, p. 277, n. 1), while below (p. 222) he is contrasted with the 'Armenian (*Haykazuni*) prince of Albania', Abu Ali. It would seem, therefore, that like Sahl Smbatean before him, Hamam was the Ēranšahik prince of Šak'ē (see above, iii. 20, p. 217; Dowsett, *BSOAS* xix (1958), p. 463). Needless to say, Hamam was not the sovereign prince of Albania and was hardly comparable with Ašot I of Armenia. For his part in the release of Gēorg (894/5, see below, p. 222, n. 1), see Asołik and John Catholicos, locc. citt.

of Albania as Ašot Bagratuni had restored that of Armenia; these things were done simultaneously. This same Hamam, who was guilty of shedding his brother's blood on account of the vanities of this life, generously and unceasingly performed great works for the churches and for all the poor and needy in order to atone for his great sins against God. At great expense he had the great patriarch of Armenia Gēorg released from the prison of the impious Saǰik,[1] and honouring him greatly, sent him safely back to the people of Armenia.

After four years, in the year when New Year's Day coincided with Easter Day,[2] Abu Ali, the native Armenian (*Haykazuni*) prince of Albania,[3] was killed by his full brother Smbat, and his family mourned for him deeply. In the same year Smbat, king of Armenia, son of Ašot Bagratuni, drew up his army and raided the land of Asorestan, but the Arab counter-attack routed them back into Armenia and rendered the whole undertaking vain. Prince Ašot the Armenian and some of his army fell on this occasion.[4] At the same time Abu Mruan, the great prince of Vaspurakan, was killed by his own forces.[5] In the same year the Arabs arrived in the land of Armenia for the second time and at their command the eunuch left the court of Partaw and went to Armenia. He was a shameless and godless man; wherever his foot trod he plundered and destroyed the churches of God, and whenever he saw the cross of Christ, he ground it to dust. When he arrived in Armenia, King Smbat immediately took flight. He seized the fortresses and the queen and her ladies and their sons and houses and sacred vessels and crosses, and captured much treasure. In the same year he raided Georgia where the two brave Georgian generals, prince Gēorg and his brother Arewēs, opposed him and suffered a cruel

[1] The 'Sādjite', i.e. Muḥammad Afshīn b. Abu 'l-Sādj Dīvdād; see Laurent, p. 224, n. 2; Grousset, op. cit., p. 402.

[2] i.e. 347 A = 16.4.898–15.4.899 (see Dulaurier, *Chronologie*, pp. 8–9. Gēorg was thus released four years previously, in 343 A (894/5).

[3] Son of Grigor, grandson of Atrnerseh of Xaǰēn; see below, iii. 22, p. 226.

[4] For the battles between Ahmad b. 'Īsā and Smbat I, cf. TA iii. 22, John Catholicos, xxviii, and other refs. in Grousset, pp. 409–11. The battle referred to here is that of T'ux (T'uł); Adontz, 'Les Taronites', *Byzantion*, ix (1934), pp. 730–1, referring to the date of 346 A below, points out that only MD has a date for this battle; it is better, however, to accept the date indicated above (347 A = 898/9); see below, p. 223, n. 2.

[5] Cf. John Catholicos, xxviii, tr. St. Martin, p. 164; TA iii. 24, tr. Brosset, pp. 192–3. Brosset dates this murder at 893, but MD shows that it took place in 898.

death at his hands.[1] Then Gēorg, great patriarch of Armenia, died, and also Ašot, prince of Siwnik', for whom mourning women wept, saying: 'May not such another year be seen again on earth for as long as the human race exists!' And it was the 346th year of the Armenian era.[2]

But this was only the beginning of all the trials and tribulations to come upon the Armenians, for after a little while the divine chastisement reserved for the land fell upon the great king Smbat himself; power from above forsook him and he walked the road of his own destruction and that of Armenia; for he came before the bestial prince of the Arabs whose ways were those of a dog, not of a man, and who seized the king who had come to him of his own accord and crucified him. Then the sound of mourning and lamentation was heard in the house of T'orgom and universal ruin overtook the land. It was the 363rd year of the Armenian era.[3] God alone exacted vengeance for the murder of Smbat, for the inhuman Arab, quitting Armenia and passing through the land of Asorestan, fell into the hands of an Arab prince and was buried alive and slain.[4]

When these times had passed and the Arab people were exhausted, another people appeared called Dailamites[5] to whom a certain chieftain named Salar belonged; widely extending his authority, he came to rule over the Albanians, Persians, and

[1] On Afshīn's attack on Smbat I, see refs. in Grousset, pp. 414–16. The eunuch was Afshīn's lieutenant Yūsuf. John Catholicos, xxxvii, ed. Jerusalem, 1867, p. 236, tr., pp. 175–6, relates how Yūsuf attacked the Sewordik' in Uti in Albania and captured the nahapet Gēorg and his brother Arues; these must be the brothers mentioned here by MD.

[2] 16.4.897–15.4.898. Adontz, loc. cit., proposes an emendation to 347 A in order to reconcile this date with that indicated above (p. 222, n. 4). The same date of 346 A is given for the death of Gēorg by Asołik, iii. 3, tr. Macler, p. 10, while the fact that John Catholicos mentions his death before the struggle between Yūsuf and the Sewordik' indicates a possibility that this notice in MD is not in strict chronological order. TA iii. 26, however, has 347 A as the date of Gēorg's death.

[3] 12.4.914–11.4.915; Asołik, iii. 14, gives 364; St. Orb. xxxviii, 362 A. Čamčean, ii. 758, and Brosset, *Histoire de la Géorgie*, i, p. 275, n. 2, accept the date 914.

[4] In 927; see refs. in Grousset, op. cit., p. 459, n. 5.

[5] D1, S; P1 *Gelemikk'*; P2, 5 *Gelemēkk'*; Ant. *Kelēmēkk'*; P4 *Delemikk'*; P3, E *Dēlēmēnk'*. The forms in *G-* predominate and point to Gīlān; those in *D-* point to Dailam; for examples of confusion between these toponyms, see *HAG* pp. 34–35. The Dailamites, some of whom originated in Gilan, are meant here; see Minorsky, *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam*, pp. 384–5, *La Domination des Dailamites*, Paris, 1932, *Studies in Caucasian history*, Cambridge, 1953, p. 114, *A history of Sharvān and Darband*, Cambridge, 1958, p. 61.

Armenians, and arriving at Partaw, he straightway made it his. At the same time, a certain people of strange and foreign appearance called Ṙuzik attacked from the lands of the north, and rushing like a tempest over the inland sea[1] of the east, the Caspian, they reached Partaw, the capital of Albania, in not more than three days,[2] and this city, unable to resist them, was put to the sword. They seized for themselves all the possessions of the inhabitants which took their fancy. Salar himself laid siege to them, but could do them no harm, for they were invincible. The women of the town, however, devised a trick and offered the Ṙuzk' the cup of death, but they became aware of the deception and slaughtered the women and their children without mercy. When they had been in the town for six months, they abandoned it, leaving it empty and deserted, and those of them who survived returned in fear[3] to their own country with loot of many kinds.[4]

Chapter 22. *A brief summary of genealogies*

We know this for certain: men of the family of Hayk allied themselves by marriage with the Mihrakan family and by this union they jointly held sway over these eastern regions of Albania. We have mentioned above[1] the names of the kings from Vačagan K'aǰ ('the Brave') to Vačagan Barepašt ('the Pious'), making ten kings in all, of whom Vačagan Barepašt alone built as many churches in the east as there are days in the year. After his death the race began to decline, and the Mirhean (branch) of the Sassanian family came from Persia and was established among the naxarars. Their names, from father to son, were as follows: Mihr, Armayēl, Vard, Vardan K'aǰ ('the Brave') who believed in Christ—it was not he who built the fortress of Gardman; his son Vard begat Varaz-Grigor, first prince of Albania, who begat four sons—Varaz-P'erož, J̌uanšēr, Yezut-Xosrov, and Varazman.[2] Of their descendants we shall give the names of the eldest sons for the information of the family of Hayk,[3] while the others will be omitted. They are as follows: Varaz-P'erož,[4] Varaz-Trdat,[5] Vardan,[6] Nerseh Dżndak ('the Cruel'), who came . . . upon the heads of men of Christian faith,[7] and the feet of the oppressed were fettered and bound in iron chains and through him many perished by fire and drowning. With the same intentions Nerseh passed through the village of Haṭiwn on his way to Asorestan. It being Sunday, he left his companions and went alone to the holy father Simēon, guardian of the holy cross, and concealing his identity, prayed with the others. The blessed Simēon boldly addressed him, however, saying: 'Who are you? God has revealed to me your impiety which brings destruction upon our land. Your children, profiting by your silence, perform many and divers iniquities for the ruination of the oppressed. Are you not Nerseh, he who goes to Asorestan to add to his evil deeds against the churches of the east? Now you shall go to that country, but never again shall your eyes see the land

[1] *ašxarhacov*; cf. *ašxarhakan cov Kasbiç* at iii. 20, p. 217, n. 1.

[2] D2, 3, P1–5, S *zerek' žamanak*; E *zeris žamanaks*. The phrase is translated thus by H. W. Bailey in N. K. Chadwick, *Beginnings of Russian History*, p. 55, while Patkanean, p. 275, renders it as 'not more than three times'. Its meaning is not clear; *žamanak* means 'time (in general)', 'a period of time', a 'time of life'. I know of no other passage in which it means 'day' in the precise sense. Bailey's translation seems to fit the context better than Patkanean's, however, the swiftness of the attack being emphasized.

[3] P2–5, E, S *zangitoł jewov*; P1, D1 *zangitołk' jewov*.

[4] On the Russian raid on Partaw, cf. Arab sources referred to in E. Kunik, 'L'Expédition des russes normands en 914, d'après la chronique inédite de l'arménien Moise Caghancatovatsi', *Bulletin historico-philologique de l'Académie des Sciences*, St. Pétersbourg, 1848–9, Dorn, *Caspia*, St. Pétersbourg, 1875, p. 296; Chadwick, *The Beginnings of Russian History*, Cambridge, 1946, pp. 50–56. The Persian geography of A.D. 982 states that the Russians camped at Mubârakī, 'a large village at the gate of Barda'a . . . at the head of the frontier of Shakkī' (Minorsky, *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam*, pp. 114, 398–9). Since Ibn al-Athīr gives the date of the Russian raid as 944, it has been suggested that there was more than one raid on Partaw. Perhaps it is worth while to point out that MD does not date the raid at 363 A = 914/5. The phrase 'at the same time' does not refer to the year 363 but to the capture of Partaw by Salar, which is implied to have taken place after the death of Yūsuf (927) (*i veray aysoçik ançeloç žamanakaç*); one may note that between 930 and 945 the Dailamite Buyids greatly increased in power at the expense of the Arabs and it is more likely to be at this time that the Armenians noticed that 'the Arab people were exhausted and another people appeared called Dailamites'. The Russian raid described by MD is that of 944.

[1] At i. 15.

[2] See ii. 17.

[3] *berçuk' yayt aṙ Haykazins.*

[4] See ii. 17, p. 109; ii. 36, p. 149.

[5] See ii. 36, &c.

[6] See iii. 12, p. 202, n. 2, p. 203.

[7] The meaning of this phrase is very obscure. S 3 var. *Nerseh dznda or eha čak' glxoy mardkan hawati k'o arar*; S 1 var. . . . *dzntay or ehas čak' glxoy mardkan hawat k'o arar*; P4 *Nersēh dżndak, or ehan čak' glxoy mardkan, ew haw anik's arar*; P5 *Nerseh, dżnda, or ehan čak' glxoy mardkan hawati k'o arar*; D1 . . . *or ehas čak' glxoy*. . . .; D2 . . . *haw i k's arar*; E *Nerseh dżndak or ē hančap' glxoy* . . . *arar* (missing words indicated by Ēmin). S amends to *Nerseh. Dżndak ōr ehas i Tačhaç glxoy mardkan ew i hawats K'ristos arar*, i.e. 'Nerseh; a bitter day came from the Arabs upon the heads of men and . . . (?)', but the emendation is not convincing. Patkanean translates as 'Nerseh Džanada who cut off the heads of believers', but this also is a guess.

of your fathers.' Nerseh fell at the feet of the old man, but receiving no answer, went his way alone. And there he died in accordance with the words of Father Simēon, and his inanimate body was carried back to his native soil.

The son of Nerseh was Gagik, and the son of Gagik was Step'annos, whose sister was Aprsamin.[1] This Varaz-Trdat and his son Step'annos were killed together by a kinsman named Nerseh P'ilippean in a deep valley called Dadoyi Vank'.[2] After these afflictions, the wife of the murdered prince found courage worthy of a man, and taking her daughter Spram, who had survived, she reached the fortress of Xaǰēn after an exhausting journey through the night. Thinking of the disgrace to her house, she married Spram to Atrnerseh, son of Sahl,[3] who was from Tohak and lord of Siwnik', who had seized by force the canton of Gełam. His son Atrnerseh was united with the prudent woman, and fearing God, they lived their lives in piety and were held dear by their country. This Atrnerseh built the fortress of Handu and established his palace in the village called Vayunik' where the royal baths are. He was taken with the other princes to Persia and remained there many years,[4] while the princess Spram multiplied her good works and built Noravank' in the canton of Sodk', which was splendidly decorated, at great expense. Atrnerseh was quickly released from the Arab lands and they ended this temporal life in peace. His sons were Grigor and Abusēt'.[5] Grigor built the fortress of Hawaxałaṣi and extended his authority over that region. Grigor had five sons of whom the eldest, Abu Ali, was slain by his kinsman Smbat.[6] Another son, Sahak, who was called Sewaday, a brave and capable man, subjected the cantons of Gardman and K'ustip'aṙnay to his rule and imposed his suzerainty upon the robber-chiefs of Joroyget. He was a lover of letters and appointed writers

[1] Cf. the man's name Aprsam (*HAG*, p. 21).

[2] See iii. 19, p. 213; the name of Varaz-Trdat's father Step'annos, son of Gagik, has been omitted here.

[3] He is mentioned by Ṭabarī, iii. 1416 as 'Adharnarsē b. Isḥāq al-Khāshinī. Markwart, *Streifzüge*, p. 457, therefore assumes his father's name to have been Sahak, not Sahl, i.e. Sahak, son of Vasak, prince of Gełark'unik'.

[4] Atrnerseh, lord of Xaǰēn, is mentioned, together with Sahl son of Smbat and Esay Abu Musē, among Bughā's captives at Sāmarrā (855) by TA iii. 11 and John Catholicos, xiii.

[5] And not Esay Abu Musē, as Laurent, p. 113, followed by Grousset, op. cit., p. 368, maintains.

[6] See iii. 21, p. 222, n. 3.

to his household. Smbat, king of Armenia, fought against him with zeal and skill, but could not bring him to submission.[1]

Sewaday begat two sons—Grigor and Dawit'. Grigor begat Sewaday called Išxan ('Prince') and Atrnerseh. Išxan begat four sons—Yovhannēs, Grigor, Atrnerseh, and P'ilippē. The right hand of the Most High chose the eldest son of Išxan, Yovhannēs, also called Senek'erim, and called him to be king;[2] thus did Almighty God restore the long-extinct kingdom through him. The king of Persia bestowed many decorations upon him and gave him his father's crown and his steed. In the same year the Greek magistros called Dawit' sent a wonderful crown and imperial purple in honour and praise of the man favoured by God; and he received consecration as king from the right hand of the patriarch to the glory of Christ.

Chapter 23. *The names of the patriarchs of Albania and their deeds*[3]

IT would be fit and proper to draw up an accurate record of the names of the patriarchs, but since [the documents containing details of] the works and dates and names of our spiritual leaders who succeeded each other from the beginning have been

[1] Sahak of Gardman, together with Grigor (his son?), Esay, and Atrnerseh, princes of Albania, and Simēon, catholicos of Albania (902–23), appears as a signatory of the deed dated 335 A (906/7) defining the boundaries of Tat'ew (St. Orb. xliii, tr. Brosset, p. 139). John Catholicos, xxiii, tr. St. Martin, p. 147, writes of Smbat I (890–914) extending his dominion to, among other places, the province of Uti up to Hnarakert, and Šamk'or; thus he would certainly have come into conflict with Sahak. Sahak Sewaday, called a 'great prince (*mec išxan*)' by John Catholicos, cxxx, p. 301, married his daughter to Smbat's son, Ašot II, in 922, but this did not prevent him from invading Uti; he was defeated and blinded by his son-in-law, who annexed Gardman, and his son Grigor was also blinded by Ašot. Thus that which Smbat I was, according to MD, unable to accomplish was accomplished by Ašot.

[2] Senek'erim was king of Siwnik' by 533 A (1084/5); see St. Orb. lx, tr. Brosset, p. 185, lix, pp. 182–4. Brosset, who puts his dates at *c.* 1080–1105, thinks that this passage in the *History of the Albanians*, which otherwise deals with events not later than the tenth century, is a later addition (*Histoire de la Siounie*, i, p. 183, n. 1).

[3] For an attempt to date the terms of office of the patriarchs of Albania according to the data of MD, Kirakos and Mxit'ar Goš, see C. Dowsett, *BSOAS* xxi (1958), pp. 476–81. Most of the details contained in this chapter have been recorded in earlier chapters.

burned, and their testaments, vessels, and resting-places are unknown to us and have not been brought to light, we have set forth what little we do know of the many things [which could be known] for the enlightenment of those who are interested in this question.

The first cause of our illumination was St. Ełišay, a disciple of the holy apostle T'adēos, who was consecrated in Jerusalem by St. James; he came as the illuminator of three countries—Čołay, Lp'ink', and Albania—and was martyred in the last country.

⟨St. Šup'hałišoy, catholicos, who came from the east, from Jerusalem.⟩[1]

Lord Matt'ēos.

Lord Sahak.

Lord Movsēs.

Lord Pand.

Lord Łazar.

⟨It is not known who [the catholicoi] were in this period until St. Grigoris. Lord St. Grigoris Arsacid, of the [family of the] Parthian (*Pahlawik*) Gregory, Illuminator of Armenia, sat in twofold glory on the same throne.⟩[2]

Lord Zak'aria.

Lord Dawit'.

Lord Yovhan, who became bishop of the Huns through the grace of the patriarch.

Lord Eremia. In his days the blessed Mesrob invented the Albanian alphabet, he who invented also those of the Armenians and Georgians by his great zeal.

Lord Abas, who at the beginning of the Armenian era transferred the patriarchal throne from Čołay to Partaw; summoned from the bishopric of Mec Irank', he was patriarch for forty-four years. In his time it became the custom to write 'Catholicos of Albania, Lp'ink' and Čołay' on the cover of letters. They wrote to him from the Council of Dwin to the effect that he should teach the one

[1] So P4, BM, D633, D1721; P1, 2, 3, 5, E, S, D1682: 'Then the Lord St. Grigoris Pahlawik, the grandson of St. Gregory, Illuminator of Armenia, sat on the same throne in twofold glory. St. Šup'hałišoy.'

[2] So P4, BM, D633, D1721; P1, 2, 3, 5, E, S, D1682: 'Lord Grigor.' See Datean, *Ararat*, 1897, p. 69, and Introduction, p. xii. The BM, &c. (Group 2), version must be the original one, since it is that followed by Mxit'ar Goš and Kirakos; Kirakos has noticed the difficulty of placing Šup'hałišoy so early; see my article, *BSOAS* xxi (1958), p. 476, n. 7, in which I failed to note the discrepancy between the readings of the manuscripts of Groups 1 and 2.

nature of the godhead and humanity of Christ and should add the words 'in holy God immortal who wert crucified' [to the Trisagion]. For they learned this, inserted by the 200 holy fathers at the Council of Ephesus into the Trisagion, from Proclus, patriarch of Ephesus, and afterwards from Timothy, patriarch of Alexandria, and Peter of Antioch when they approached the emperor Anastasius through Jacob, bishop of Mesopotamia—all of whom stipulated that the orthodox should say 'immortal' and 'wert crucified', as is indeed so, for it had not previously been our custom to do so. But in our country there are no heresies, however much you examine us. Afterwards, in the time of the catholicos Ezr, Step'annos, bishop of Gardman, went and communed with him, and Gardman and Arçax received this tradition, which now we all share.

Lord Viroy, thirty-four years. He liberated the prisoners of Armenia, Georgia, and Albania from Šat' Xazr. He requested King Xosrov to write the title 'Lord of Gardman and prince of Albania' on letters to the governors (*kusakal*) of this country, and this is still written.

Lord Zak'aria, a holy man, seventeen years. He stood surety for the great city of Partaw and by his prayers saved many from imprisonment. He consecrated a certain Vrt'anēs bishop of Siwnik' without the consent of Armenia.

Lord Yovhan, twenty-five years, called to the patriarchal throne from the bishopric of Amaras.

Lord Uxtanēs, twelve years. He cursed the Albanian *naxarars* on account of their race-polluting marriages, for which they were put to death.

Lord Ełiazar, six years, from the bishopric of Šak'i. He discovered the holy cross hidden by Mesrob in the village of Gis. Taking a piece of the quickening cross, he covered it with gold to the value of 120 *dahekans* and wrote upon it: 'This is Ełiazar's.' He ordered a feast-day for the cross to be celebrated in Gis.

Lord Nersēs, from the bishopric of Gardman, seventeen years. Of erring mind, he intended to confuse the whole house of Albania by misleading it into the Chalcedonian heresy. Cursed in body and soul, he was cut off from the glories of the Son of God by the Albanians and the Armenians, and he received the fate reserved for heretics.

Lord Simēon, one and a half years. He was the archdeacon of

the [Albanian] see who rid the land of Nersēs' disorders and established seven canons.

Lord Mik'ayēl, thirty-five years. He was a deacon in Šak'i. He summoned the abbot of Mak'enoç, Sołomon, and cursed the lords of Albania who had married kinsmen of the third generation, and these were immediately punished and put to death.

Lord Anastas, four years.

Lord Yovsep', seventeen years. In his fifth year fell the 200th year of the Armenian era [23.5.751–21.5.752]. He came to the patriarchal throne from the bishopric of Amaras.

Lord Dawit', four years. He also came to the throne from the bishopric of Amaras. He squandered the land and the vessels of the Church, and died after drinking a poison handed him by deceivers.

Lord Dawit', nine years, from the bishopric of Mec Kueank'. He sold Dastakert and Sahmanaxaç to impious men.

Lord Matt'ē, one and a half years, from the bishopric of Kapałak and Sałkaw.

Lord Movsēs, two years.

Lord Aharon, two years.

Lord Sałomon, half a year.

Lord T'ēodoros, four years, from the bishopric of Gardman.

Lord Sałomon, eleven and a half years.

Lord Yovhannēs, twenty-five years. He transferred the catholicos' palace to Berdakur, the site of his country residence, on his move from Partaw.

Lord Movsēs, half a year.

Lord Dawit', twenty-eight years, from the bishopric of Kapałak. He blessed the illicit marriage of the lord of Šak'i, and the lay brother of the same lord asked him: 'Whence come you, lord?' And he answered: 'From your brother's house.' And the prince said to Dawit': 'May your tongue, which gave the blessing, never speak again, and may your right hand wither!' And this immediately came to pass, and he was not healed to the day of his death.

Lord Yovsep', twenty-five years, from the bishopric of Mec Kueank'. In his third year fell the 300th year of the Armenian era [28.4.851–26.4.852].

Lord Samuēl, seventeen years, from the bishopric of Mec Kueank'. He assumed the title himself, and was afterwards deposed by Gēorg, catholicos of Armenia, and reconsecrated by him at Dwin.

Lord Yovhan, eight and a half years. He was court bishop of Armenia. While Gēorg was in captivity, he went to Albania without the permission of the catholicos Gēorg and was consecrated there; he also was reconsecrated by the same Gēorg.

Lord Simēon, twenty-one years. He was the court bishop of the Holy See who adorned the Holy Cross with many ornaments.

Lord Dawit', six years, from the priorate of the monastery of P'aṙisos.

Lord Sahak, eighteen years, from the bishopric of Mec Kueank'.

Lord Gagik, fourteen years, from the bishopric of Gardman. In his fourth year fell the 400th year of the Armenian era [3.4.951–1.4.952].

Lord Dawit', seven years, from the bishopric of Kapałak.

Lord Dawit', six years. He was consecrated by Anania, catholicos of Armenia.

Lord Petros, eighteen years, from the bishopric of Gardman.

Lord Movsēs, six years from the priorate of the monastery of P'aṙisos.

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